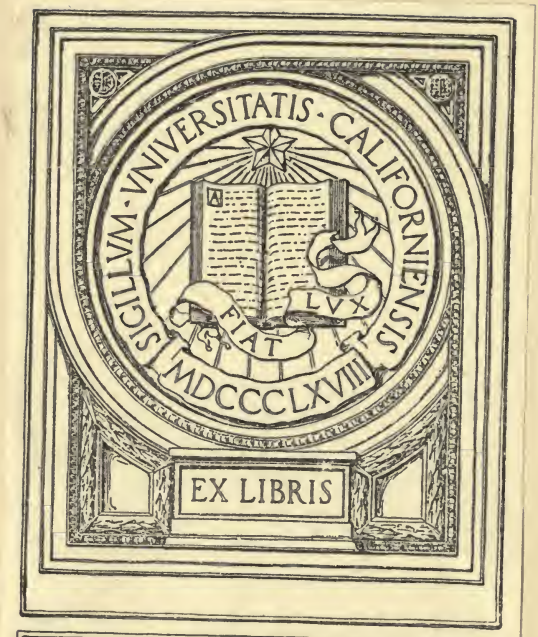

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III

TWO JOURNALS OF WESTERN TOURS, BY CHARLES FREDERICK POST: ONE, TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF FORT DUQUESNE (JULY–SEPTEMBER, 1758); THE OTHER, TO THE OHIO (OCTOBER, 1758–JANUARY, 1759)

SOURCE: Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1798), ii, appendix.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Christian Frederick Post, author of the following journals, was a simple, uneducated missionary of the Moravian Church. His chief qualifications for the perilous journeys herein detailed, were his intimate acquaintance with Indian life and character, the belief of the tribesmen in his truthfulness and honesty, and his own steadfast courage and trust in the protection of a higher power. Born in Polish Prussia in 1710, Post early came under the influence of the Moravians, whose remarkable missionary movement was just beginning to germinate.

The first attempt of this church to christianize the American Indians in Georgia having failed because of Spanish hostility, the Moravian disciples removed to Pennsylvania (1739), and were granted land on which to establish their colony at Bethlehem. Thither in 1742 came Post, eager to join in evangelizing the Indians; for which purpose he was sent the following year to assist Henry Rauch in his mission to the Mohegans and Wampanoags. This mission had been established about 1740, Count Zinzendorf, the great Moravian bishop, having visited its site at Shekomeko (Pine Plains, Dutchess County, New York) and baptized three Indians as its first fruits. The work spread to the neighboring Indian villages of Connecticut, and Post was assigned to a circuit in Sharon Township, Litchfield County, consisting of the villages of Pachgatgoch and Wechquadnach. Here, in his zeal for the service, he married a con-

verted Indian woman (1743), and endeared himself to all the tribe.

But persecutions began to assail the humble brethren and their converts; they were accused of being papists, arrested and haled before local magistrates, by whom they were no sooner released than a mob of those whose gain in pampering to Indian vices was endangered by Moravian success, set upon them and rendered their lives and those of their new converts intolerable. Post, who had been on a journey to the Iroquois country (1745), was arrested at Albany and sent to New York, where he was imprisoned for seven weeks on a trumped-up charge of abetting Indian raids.

The situation made retreat necessary; therefore, in 1746, the Shekomeko and Connecticut settlements were broken up, and the Christian Indians with their missionaries moved in detachments to Pennsylvania, where, after kindly entertainment at Bethlehem, a town called Gnadenhütten (huts of Grace), was built for them, at Weisport, Carbon County. It was during their stay at Bethlehem that Rachel, Post's Indian wife, died (1747), and there two years later he married a Delaware convert, Agnes, who lived only until 1751.

Meanwhile, Post was employed as missionary assistant, going to Shamokin in 1747 to aid the missionary blacksmith established there, to clear and plant more ground. Again in 1749, he revisited the scene of his early labors, and helped David Bruce to re-establish a mission among the remnant left at Pachgatgoch. Two years later he was summoned to a more distant field on the dismal shores of Labrador, where a company of four Moravian brethren were sent to begin a mission to the Eskimos. An untoward accident rendered this project futile; the

major part of the crew of the vessel which had transported them having been lost, the captain impressed the missionaries to carry his ship back to England.

Thereupon Post again sought his home in Pennsylvania, dwelling principally at Bethlehem, until called upon by the Pennsylvania authorities to assist in public affairs. There is no certain information of his introduction to the managers of Indian matters in Pennsylvania; but several Christian Indians from his flock had been utilized as interpreters, and the Friendly Association of Quakers, which was assuming so large a rôle in treating with the natives, was well-inclined toward the Moravian brothers.

The first mention of Post in the public records is in connection with a message which he was employed to carry (June, 1758) in conjunction with Charles Thomson to Teedyuscung at Wyoming.[1] On his return to the settlements, he was immediately commissioned to go back to Wyoming with a message from the Cherokee auxiliaries, who had come to join the army of Forbes, and whose presence caused consternation among Pennsylvania's savage allies. With but five days' respite, Post again started on a journey beset with perils on every side, through the wilderness of Northern Pennsylvania.[2] At Teedyuscung's cabin he met two Indians from the Ohio, who declared that their tribes were sorry they had gone to war against the English; they had often wished that messengers from the government would come to them, for then they should long before have abandoned war.

On the receipt of this important information, the council

[1] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, viii, p. 132; *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, pp. 412-422.

[2] Journal of this journey in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, viii, pp. 142-145.

at Philadelphia debated to what use it might be put in furthering the plans for Forbes's advance. "Post was desired to accompany the Indians, and he readily consented to go."[3]

Antiquarians and historians have alike admired the sublime courage of the man, and the heroic patriotism which made him capable of advancing into the heart of a hostile territory, into the very hands of a cruel and treacherous foe. But aside from Post's supreme religious faith, he had a shrewd knowledge of Indian customs, and knew that in the character of an ambassador requested by the Western tribes, his mission would be a source of protection. Therefore, even under the very walls of Fort Duquesne, he trusted not in vain to Indian good faith.

The results of this embassy were most gratifying. The report of his mission coming during the important negotiations at Easton, aided in securing the Indian neutrality which made the advance of Forbes so much less hazardous than that of Braddock.

But the work was only begun; and to complete it Post's renewed co-operation was necessary. This time he was not to venture alone. Two militia officers, Captain John Bull and Lieutenant William Hays, volunteered for the service,[4] and having joined Post at Reading, all proceeded with Indian companions in their van, to overtake the army and reach the Ohio in advance of the column.

Their mission was not in time to save the Indian ferocity at Grant's defeat; but it contributed to assure the French that aid from the neighboring Indians was dubious, and that in retreat lay their only safety.

[3] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, viii, p. 147.

[4] *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, pp. 556, 557.

Through the simple narrative of Indian speeches and replies, one feels the intensity of the strain: the French captain "looked as pale as death;" "we hanged out the English flag, in spite of the French, on which our prisoners folded their hands, in hopes that their redemption was nigh." Then the news came "which gave us the pleasure to hear, that the English had the field, and that the French had demolished and burnt the place entirely and went off."

Of Post's later life and its vicissitudes, we get but scattered glimpses. For the two years succeeding these adventurous journeys, he served the Pennsylvania authorities as messenger and interpreter, at the same time begging to be allowed to go and preach to the newly-appeased Indians on the Ohio. The last official act of Governor Denny was the affixing of his signature to a passport for Post, of whose loyalty, integrity and prudence he testifies to have had good experience.[5]

This desire to begin a mission to the Western Indians was consummated in 1761, when Post proceeded alone to the Muskingum and built the first white man's house within the present limits of Ohio. The following spring, he applied to the Moravian brethren for an assistant; whereupon John Heckewelder was assigned to this service, and in his *Narrative* describes their courteous reception by Bouquet at Fort Pitt, the restless conditions among the Delawares and Shawnees, and the warnings against the storm of fire and blood which was so soon to break over the frontier. Heckewelder retreated in due season; Post barely saved himself by a sudden flight.

[5] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, viii, pp. 341, 419, 463, 466, 469, 491; *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, pp. 581, 582, 689, 702, 703.

In 1764, the ecclesiastical authorities saw fit to send this intrepid missionary to the Mosquito Coast, where he stayed two years, making a second visit in 1767. Toward the close of his life he retired from the Moravian sect, and entered the Protestant Episcopal Church. His death occurred at Germantown in 1785.

The journal of the first tour to the Ohio Indians (July 15 – September 22, 1758), was printed in the appendix to *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* (London, 1759; reprinted Philadelphia, 1867). This book was published anonymously, but was known to be the work of Charles Thomson, a prominent Philadelphia Quaker, later secretary of the Continental Congress. Thomson gives a brief preface to Post's journal, and the matter in the notes thereof is evidently by his hand; it is probable that the notes to the second journal are also by him. The first journal was reprinted by Proud, *History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1798), ii, appendix, pp. 65-95, from which edition our reprint has been made. Craig also published this in *The Olden Time*, i, pp. 99-125, following almost verbatim the edition of Thomson and Proud. Rupp, *Early History of Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburg and Harrisburg, 1846), appendix, pp. 75-98, gives the same journal. The *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, pp. 520-544, also contains this journal, evidently taken from the same manuscript, with but slight variations in the spelling of proper names.

Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren* (Philadelphia, 1820), pp. 55, 56, says: "To enumerate all the hardships, difficulties and dangers, Frederick Post had been subjected to on these journies, especially on the first, in the summer of the year 1758, is

at this time both impossible and needless. Suffice it to say, that what *he* intended the public should know, was published in the year after, in England, under the title of 'Christian Frederick Post's Journal from Philadelphia to the Ohio,' &c. His *original* manuscript journal, however, which had for some time been placed in the hands of the writer of this narrative, was far more interesting, and evinced that few men would be found able to undergo the fatigues of a journey, bearing so hard on the constitution, or a mind to sustain such trials of adversity — at least not with that calmness with which Mr. Post endured it.''

The diary of the second journey of Christian Frederick Post to the Ohio, October 25, 1758 - January 8, 1759, was first printed in London, 1759, for J. Wilkie; see Field, *An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography* (New York, 1873), p. 315. Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, ii, appendix, pp. 96-132, also reprints Post's second journal, and from this our reprint is made. It appears also in *The Olden Time*, i, pp. 144-177; and in Rupp, *Early History of Western Pennsylvania*, appendix, pp. 99-126. The extract from a journal in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, pp. 560-563, entitled ''Journal of Frederick Post from Pittsburg, 1758,'' is in reality that of Croghan's — see *ante*, p. 100. For an example of the form and spelling of the original manuscripts of these journals before they were rigorously edited, see letter of Post's in *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, pp. 742-744. The following is a sample extract therefrom:

To his honnour da Governor of Pansylvanea:

Broder, I cam to Machochlaung, wa mane Indeans luve, I cald dam all togader, and I told dam wat we bous had agread on wan we sa one anoder last, and wat you

ar sorre for and have so mouts at hart, and dasayrt me to mack it avere war noun avere war, and dasayrd dam to be strong and sea dat your flasch and blod may be rastord to you; now br'r, you know dat it is aur agreamand, dat as soun as I hoar any ting, I geave yu daracktly notys of, and as I am as jat closs bay you, so I sand daes prasonars to you which da daleverat to me, and I geave dam to Papunnahanck to dalever dam to you; br. I do not sand daes poepel daun, da have had damself a long dasayr to go daun to sea dar br. da Englesch, so I tot it proper to sand dam along; I hop you will rajoys to sea dam and be kaynd to dam, and allso to dam poepel dat bryng dam daun; wan I am farder from you and I schall meat wit som, I schall bryng dam maysalf daun wan I com along; br. you know aur worck is grat, and will tack a long taym befor we coan com back, I salud all da schandel pepel, and dasayr you to be strong.

Ye 20 Day of May, 1760, rot at Machochloschung.

Ordinarily, the modern historical student very properly deprecates any tampering with original manuscripts; but an examination of the foregoing inclines one not only to forgive but to thank the early editors for having translated Post's jargon into understandable English.

R. G. T.

THE JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST, FROM PHILADELPHIA TO THE OHIO, ON A MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA TO THE DELAWARE, SHAWNESE, AND MINGO INDIANS, SETTLED THERE.

July the 15th, 1758.— This day I received orders from his honour, the Governor, to ſet out on my intended journey, and proceeded as far as *German Town*, where I found all the *Indians* drunk.[6] *Willamegicken* returned to *Philadelphia*, for a horſe, that was promiſed him.[7]

16th.— This day I waited for the ſaid *Willamegicken* till near noon, and when he came, being very drunk, he could proceed no further, ſo that I left him, and went to *Bethlehem*.[8]

17th.— I arrived at *Bethlehem*, and prepared for my journey.

[6] All Indians are exceſſive fond of rum, and will be drunk whenever they can get it.— [CHARLES THOMSON ?]

[7] Willamegicken (Wellemeghikink), known to the whites as James, was a prominent brave of the Allegheny Delawares, who had been employed as a messenger between them and the Susquehanna tribes of the same race. He had agreed to accompany Post on this journey, for which the Pennsylvania Council had voted to supply him with a horse. *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, p. 415; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, viii, p. 148.— ED.

[8] Bethlehem is a Moravian town built in 1741-42, after the retreat of these people from Georgia. Count Zinzendorf organized the congregation at this place, and named the settlement (1742). For the first twenty years a community system prevailed among the inhabitants, called the "Economy." Portions of the buildings erected under that régime are still standing. See "Moravians and their Festival," in *Outlook*, August 1, 1903. In 1752, the brethren built a large stone house for the accommodation of Indian visitors, and those who escaped the massacre of 1755 were domiciled there when Post passed through.— ED.

18th.— I read over both the laſt treaties, that at *Eaſton*, and that at *Philadelphia*, and made myſelf acquainted with the particulars of each.[9]

19th.— With much difficulty I perſuaded the *Indians* to leave *Bethlehem*, and travelled this day no further than *Hayes's* having a hard ſhower of rain.

20th.— Arrived at fort *Allen*.[10]

21ſt.— I called my company together, to know if we ſhould proceed. They complained they were ſick, and muſt reſt that day. This day, I think, *Teedyuſcung*[11]

[9] These two treaties were made with Teedyuscung: the first at Easton in July and August, 1757, whereby the neutrality of the Susquehanna Indians and the Six Nations was secured (*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vii, pp. 649-714); the second at Philadelphia in April, 1758 (see *Id.*, viii, pp. 29-56, 87-97.— Ed.

[10] After Braddock's defeat, the ravaging of the frontiers both west and north of the settled portions of Pennsylvania became so serious that the colonial government appointed a commission, headed by Franklin, to take means to protect the settlers, and defend the territory. Franklin proceeded into Northumberland County, and made arrangements to fortify the point on the Lehigh where Weisport, Carbon County, now stands. But before the stockade was completed a body of Indians fell upon and seriously defeated a party of militia from the neighboring Irish settlements, led by Captain Hayes (January, 1756). The works were pushed rapidly after this setback, and the fort was named in honor of William Allen, chief-justice of the province. This post was garrisoned until after Pontiac's War, and probably throughout the Revolution. See Franklin's *Writings* (New York, 1887), ii, pp. 449-454.— Ed.

[11] Teedyuscung, one of the most famous of Delaware chiefs, was born in Trenton about 1705. When nearly fifty years old, he was chosen chief of the Susquehanna Delawares, and being shrewd and cunning played a game of diplomacy between the Iroquois, the Ohio Indians, and the authorities of Pennsylvania, by which he managed largely to enhance his own importance, and to free the Delawares from their submission to the Six Nations. His headquarters were in the Wyoming Valley, whence he descended to the Moravian settlements, and even to Easton and Philadelphia, to secure supplies from the Pennsylvania authorities. In 1756 a truce was patched up with this chief at Easton, after he had bitterly complained of the "Walking Purchase" of 1737, and the white settlements on the Juniata. His loyalty to the English was doubtful and wavering, and his opposition to Post's journey was probably due to fears that his own importance as a medium between the Ohio Indians and the English would be diminished by the former's success. His cabin at Wyom-

laid many obſtacles in my way, and was very much againſt my proceeding: he ſaid, he was afraid I ſhould never return; and that the Indians would kill me. About dinner time two *Indians* arrived from *Wyoming*,[12] with an account that *Teedyuſcung's* ſon, *Hans Jacob*, was returned, and brought news from the *French* and *Allegheny Indians*. *Teedyuſcung* then called a Council, and propoſed that I ſhould only go to *Wyoming*, and return, with the meſſage his ſon had brought, to *Philadelphia*. I made anſwer, that it was too late, that he ſhould have propoſed that in *Philadelphia*; for that the writings containing my orders were ſo drawn, as obliged me to go, though I ſhould loſe my life.

22d.— I deſired my companions to prepare to ſet out, upon which *Teedyuſcung* called them all together in the fort, and proteſted againſt my going. His reaſons were, that he was afraid the *Indians* would kill me, or the *French* get me; and if that ſhould be the caſe he ſhould be very ſorry, and did not know what he ſhould do. I

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ing having treacherously been set on fire, during one of his drunken sleeps, Teedyuscung was burned to death in 1763. The Iroquois, who were the guilty party, threw the obloquy upon the Connecticut settlement, whereupon Teedyuscung's followers murdered all the band.— Ed.

[12] Wyoming Valley was the bone of contention between the Connecticut and Pennsylvania colonies, each claiming that it was within their charter limits. The Connecticut agents succeeded in securing an Indian title at the Albany conference (1754); but their first settlement being effaced by an Indian massacre (see preceding note), their next body of emigrants did not proceed thither until 1769. Meanwhile, on the strength of the Indian purchase at Fort Stanwix (1768) the Pennsylvanians had occupied the valley; and a border warfare began, which lasted until the Revolution. The massacre of 1778, by the Tories and British Indians, is a matter of general history.

The Indians of the valley were of many tribes — Oneidas, Delawares, Shawnees, Munseys, Nanticokes, etc. The Moravian Christian Indians settled at Wyoming in 1752. After the murder of Teedyuscung they fled, but returned to found the town of Wyalusing (1765), where the missionary Zeisberger lived with them until their removal, three years later to the Ohio.— Ed.

gave for anſwer, "that I did not know what to think of their conduct. It is plain, ſaid I, that the *French* have a *public road*[13] to your towns, yet you will not let your own fleſh and blood, the *Engliſh*, come near them; which is very hard: and if that be the caſe, the *French* muſt be your maſters." I added, that, if I died in the undertaking, it would be as much for the *Indians* as the *Engliſh*, and that I hoped my journey would be of this advantage, that it would be the means of ſaving the lives of many hundreds of the *Indians*: therefore, I was reſolved to go forward, taking my life in my hand, as one ready to part with it for their good. Immediately after I had ſpoken thus, three roſe up and offered to go with me the neareſt way; and we concluded to go through the inhabitants, under the Blue mountains to fort *Auguſta*, on *Suſquahanna*; where we arrived the 25th.[14]

It gave me great pain to obſerve many plantations deſerted and laid waſte; and I could not but reflect on the diſtreſs, the poor owners muſt be drove to, who once lived in plenty; and I prayed the Lord to reſtore peace and proſperity to the diſtreſſed.

At fort *Auguſta* we were entertained very kindly, had our horſes ſhod, and one being lame, we exchanged for

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[13] An *Indian* expreſſion meaning free admiſſion.—[C. T. ?]

[14] Post, after leaving Fort Allen, passed through the present Carbon County, crossed the headwaters of the Schuylkill, and traversed Northumberland County to Fort Augusta. On the massacres in that region see Rupp, *History of Northumberland*, etc., (Lancaster, 1847), pp. 100-116. Fort Augusta, at the forks of the Susquehanna, was built in 1756, at the request of the Indians settled there under the chieftainship of Shickalamy. It was not a mere stockade and blockhouse, but a regular fortification, provided with cannon, and was commanded at first by Colonel Clapham, succeeded by Colonel James Burd. This stronghold was garrisoned until after the Revolutionary War; but before that time settlement had begun to spring up about the fort, and the town of Sunbury was laid out in 1772.— Ed.

another. Here we received, by *Indians* from *Diahogo*,[15] the diſagreeable news that our army was, as they ſaid, entirely cut off at *Ticonderoga*,[16] which diſcouraged one of my companions, *Lappopetung's* ſon, ſo much, that he would proceed no further. *Shamokin Daniel* here asked me, if I thought he ſhould be ſatisfied for his trouble in going with me. I told him every body, that did any ſervice for the province, I thought, would be paid.

27th.— They furniſhed us here with every neceſſary for our journey, and we ſet out with good courage. After we rode about ten miles, we were caught in a hard guſt of rain.

28th.— We came to *Wekeeponall*, where the road turns off for *Wyoming*, and ſlept this night at *Queenaſhawakee*.[17]

29th.— We croſſed the *Suſquahanna* over the *Big Iſland*. My companions were now very fearful, and this night went a great way out of the road, to ſleep without fire, but could not ſleep for the muſquetoes and vermin.

30th & 31ſt.— We were glad it was day, that we might ſet out. We got upon the mountains, and had heavy rains all night. The heavens alone were our covering, and we accepted of all that was poured down from thence.

Auguſt 1ſt.— We ſaw three hoops[18] on a buſh; to one

[15] An Indian ſettlement towards the heads of Suſquahanna.— [C. T. ?]

[16] The reference is to Abercrombie's defeat and retreat from Fort Ticonderoga in July, 1758.— Ed.

[17] The Indian trail followed by Post, passed up the West Branch of the Susquehanna, through a region which had earlier been thickly sprinkled with Indian towns. The Moravian missionaries had been here as early as 1742, and had been hospitably received by Madame Montour, whose town was at the mouth of Loyalsock Creek, opposite the present village of Montoursville. This was probably Post's "Wekeponall," as the path to Wyoming led northeast from this place. Queenashawakee (Quenslehague) Creek is in Lycoming County, with the town of Linden at its mouth.— Ed.

[18] Little hoops on which the *Indians* ſtretch and dreſs the raw ſcalps.—[C. T. ?]

of them there remained ſome long white hair. Our horſes left us, I ſuppoſe, not being fond of the dry food on the mountains: with a good deal of trouble we found them again. We ſlept this night on the ſame mountain.

2d.— We came acroſs ſeveral places where two poles, painted red, were ſtuck in the ground by the *Indians*, to which they tye the priſoners, when they ſtop at night, in their return from their incurſions. We arrived this night at *Shinglimuhee*,[19] where was another of the ſame poſts. It is a diſagreeable and melancholy ſight, to ſee the means they make uſe of, according to their ſavage way, to diſtreſs others.

3d.— We came to a part of a river called *Tobeco*, over the mountains, a very bad road.

4th.— We loſt one of our horſes, and with much difficulty found him, but were detained a whole day on that account.

I had much converſation with *Piſquetumen*;[20] of which I think to inform myſelf further when I get to my journey's end.

5th.— We ſet out early this day, and made a good long ſtretch, croſſing the big river *Tobeco*, and lodged between two mountains. I had the miſfortune to loſe my pocket book with three pounds five ſhillings,[21] and ſundry other

[19] Big Island is at the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, in Clinton County. From that point the trail led up the creek to a point above Milesburg, Center County, then turned almost due west across Center and Clearfield counties to Clearfield (Shinglimuhee). This was the "Chinklacamoos path," north of the Kittanning trail followed by Weiser in 1748. The word "Chinklacamoos" is said to signify "it almost joins," in allusion to a horseshoe bend at this place. See Meginness, *Otzinachson: A History of the West Branch Valley* (rev. ed., Williamsport, Pa., 1889), p. 272.— Ed.

[20] An *Indian* Chief, that travelled with him.—[C T. ?]

[21] The money of *Pennſylvania*, being paper, is chiefly carried in pocket books.—[C. T. ?]

things. What writings it contained were illegible to any body but myſelf.

6th.— We paſſed all the mountains, and the big river, *Weſhawaucks*, and croſſed a fine meadow two miles in length, where we ſlept that night, having nothing to eat.[22]

7th.— We came in ſight of fort *Venango*, belonging to the *French*, ſituate between two mountains, in a fork of the *Ohio* river. I prayed the Lord to blind them, as he did the enemies of *Lot* and *Eliſha*, that I might paſs unknown. When we arrived, the fort being on the other ſide of the river, we hallooed, and deſired them to fetch us over; which they were afraid to do; but ſhewed us a place where we might ford. We ſlept that night within half gun ſhot of the fort.

8th.— This morning I hunted for my horſe, round the fort, within ten yards of it. The Lord heard my prayer, and I paſſed unknown till we had mounted our horſes to go off, when two *Frenchmen* came to take leave of the *Indians*, and were much ſurpriſed at ſeeing me, but ſaid nothing.

By what I could learn of *Piſquetumen*, and the *Indians*, who went into the fort, the garriſon conſiſted of only ſix men, and an officer blind of one eye.[23] They enquired

[22] From Chinklacamoos the Indian trail crossed Clearfield, Jefferson, and Clarion counties, over Little Toby's Creek (Tobeco), the Clarion River (big river Tobeco), and east Sandy Creek (Weshawaucks). That no Indians were met through all this region is proof of its deserted condition, its former frequenters having withdrawn to the French sphere of influence.—Ed.

[23] The officer commanding Venango at this time was Jean Baptiste Boucher Sieur de Niverville, a noted border ranger and Indian raider. Born in Montreal in 1716, he early acquired an ascendency over the Abenaki Indians, which was utilized in leading their parties against the English settlements of New England. In King George's War, bands under his command ravaged New Hampshire and Vermont, and penetrated as far as Fort Massachusetts in the Berkshire Hills (1748). During the French and Indian War, he was similarly employed, and after Braddock's defeat, conducted a winter campaign of thirty-

much of the *Indians* concerning the *Engliſh*, whether they knew of any party coming to attack them, of which they were apprehenſive.

9th.— Heavy rains all night and day: we ſlept on ſwampy ground.

10th.— We imagined we were near *Kuſhkuſhkee*; and having travelled three miles, we met three *Frenchmen*, who appeared very ſhy of us, but ſaid nothing more than to enquire, whether we knew of any *Engliſh* coming againſt fort *Venango*.

After we travelled two miles farther, we met with an *Indian*, and one that I took to be a runagade *Engliſh Indian* trader; he ſpoke good *Engliſh*, was very curious in examining every thing, particularly the ſilver medal about Piſquitumen's neck. He appeared by his countenance to be guilty. We enquired of them where we were, and found we were loſt, and within twenty miles of fort *Duqueſne*. We ſtruck out of the road to the right, and slept between two mountains; and being deſtitute of food, two went to hunt, and others to seek a road, but to no purpoſe.

11th.— We went to the place where they had killed two deers, and *Piſquetumen* and I roaſted the meat. Two went to hunt for the road, to know which way we ſhould go: one came back, and found a road; the other loſt himſelf.

12th.— The reſt of us hunted for him, but in vain; ſo, as we could not find him, we concluded to ſet off, leaving ſuch marks, that, if he returned, he might know which

three days, in the direction of Fort Cumberland on the Potomac, bringing off numerous English captives. At Lake George in 1757, he led the Abenaki auxiliaries, and was present at the massacre of Fort William Henry. The last that is known of his military exploits is during the siege of Quebec, when he defended dangerous outposts with the aid of savage allies.— ED.

way to follow us; and we left him ſome meat. We came to the river *Conaquonaſhon* [Conequenessing Creek], where was an old *Indian* town. We were then fifteen miles from *Kuſhkuſhkee*.

There we ſtopt, and ſent forward *Piſquetumen* with four ſtrings of *wampum* to apprize the town of our coming,[24] with this meſſage:

"Brother,[25] thy brethren are come a great way, and want to ſee thee, at thy fire, to *ſmoak that good tobacco*,[26] which our good grandfathers uſed to ſmoak. Turn thy eyes once more upon that road, by which I came.[27] I bring thee words of great conſequence from the Governor, and people of *Pennſylvania*, and from the king of *England*. Now I deſire thee to call all the kings and captains from all the towns, that none may be miſſing. I do not deſire that my words may be hid, or ſpoken under cover. I want to ſpeak loud, that all the *Indians* may hear me. I hope thou wilt bring me on the road, and lead me into the town. I blind the *French*, that they may not ſee me, and ſtop their ears, that they may not hear the great news I bring you.

About noon we met ſome *Shawaneſe*, that uſed to live at *Wyoming*. They knew me, and received me very kindly. I ſaluted them, and aſſured them the government of *Pennſylvania* wiſhed them well, and wiſhed to live in peace and friendſhip with them. Before we came to the

[24] According to the rules of Indian politeneſs, you muſt never go into a town without ſending a previous meſſage to denote your arrival, or, ſtanding at a diſtance from the town, and hallooing till ſome come out, to conduct you in. Otherwiſe you are thought as *rude as white men*.— [C. T. ?]

[25] When the people of a town, or of a nation, are addreſſed, the *Indians* always uſe the ſingular number.— [C. T. ?]

[26] *i. e.* To confer in a friendly manner.— [C. T. ?]

[27] *i. e.* Call to mind our ancient friendly intercourſe.— [C. T. ?]

town, two men came to meet us and lead us in. King Beaver ſhewed us a large houſe to lodge in.[28] The people ſoon came and ſhook hands with us. The number was about ſixty young able men. Soon after king *Beaver* came and told his people, "Boys, hearken, we ſat here without ever expecting again to ſee our brethren the *Engliſh*; but now one of them is brought before you, that you may ſee your brethren, the *Engliſh*, with your own eyes; and I wiſh you may take it into conſideration." Afterwards he turned to me and ſaid,

"Brother, I am very glad to ſee you, I never thought we ſhould have had the opportunity to ſee one another more; but now I am very glad, and thank God, who has brought you to us. It is a great ſatisfaction to me." I ſaid, "Brother, I rejoice in my heart, I thank God, who has brought me to you. I bring you joyful news from the Governor and people of *Pennſylvania*, and from your children, the Friends:[29] and, as I have words of great conſequence I will lay them before you, when all the kings and captains are called together from the other towns. I wiſh there may not be a man of them miſſing, but that they may be all here to hear."

In the evening king Beaver came again, and told me, they had held a council, and ſent out to all their towns, but it would take five days before they could all come together. I thanked him for his care. Ten captains came and ſaluted me. One ſaid to the others; "We never expected to ſee our brethren the *Engliſh* again, but now God has granted us once more to ſhake hands

[28] Every *Indian* town has a large cabbin for the entertainment of ſtrangers by the public hoſpitality.—[C. T. ?]

[29] That is, the *Quakers*, for whom the *Indians* have a particular regard.—[C. T. ?]

with them, which we will not forget." They ſat by my fire till midnight.

14th.— The people crowded to my houſe; it was full. We had much talk. *Delaware George*[30] ſaid, he had not ſlept all night, ſo much had he been engaged on account of my coming. The *French* came, and would ſpeak with me. There were then fifteen of them building houſes for the *Indians*. The captain is gone with fifteen to another town. He can ſpeak the *Indian* tongue well. The *Indians* ſay he is a cunning fox; that they get a great deal of goods from the *French*; and that the French cloath the *Indians* every year, men, women and children, and give them as much powder and lead as they want.

15th.— *Beaver* king was informed, that *Teedyuſcung* had ſaid he had turned the hatchet againſt the *French*, by advice of the *Alleghany Indians*; this he blamed, as they had never ſent him ſuch advice. But being informed it was his own doing, without any perſuaſion of the Governor, he was eaſy on that head. *Delaware Daniel* prepared a dinner, to which he invited me, and all the kings and captains; and when I came, he ſaid, "Brother, we are as glad to ſee you among us, as if we dined with the Governor and people in Philadelphia. We have thought a great deal ſince you have been here. We never thought ſo much before."[31] I thanked them for their kind reception; I ſaid, it was ſomething great, that God had

[30] Delaware George was an important chief of that tribe, who had been a disciple of Post's in his Pennsylvania mission. He maintained friendly relations with the English until after the defeat of Braddock. Although closely associated with King Beaver and Shingas, he seems to have leaned more than they to the English interest.— Ed.

[31] That is, we look on your coming as a matter of importance, it engages our attention.— [C. T. ?]

ſpared our lives, to ſee one another again, in the old brother-like love and friendſhip. There were in all thirteen, who dined together.

In the evening they danced at my fire, firſt the men, and then the women, till after midnight.

On the 16th, the king and captains called on me privately. They wanted to hear what *Teedyuſcung* had ſaid of them, and begged me to take out the writings. I read to them what *Teedyuſcung* had ſaid, and told them, as *Teedyuſcung* had ſaid he would ſpeak ſo loud, that all at *Allegheny*, and beyond ſhould hear it, I would conceal nothing from them. They ſaid, they never ſent any ſuch advice (as above mentioned), to *Teedyuſcung*, nor ever ſent a meſſage at all to the government,[32] and now the *French* were here, their captain would come to hear, and this would make diſturbance. I then told them I would read the reſt, and leave out that part, and they might tell the kings and captains of it, when they came together.

17th.— Early, this morning they called all the people together to clean the place, where they intended to hold the council, it being in the middle of the town. *Kuſh-kuſhkee* is divided into four towns, each at a distance from the others; and the whole conſiſts of about ninety houſes, and two hundred able warriors.

About noon two public meſſengers arrived from the *Indians* at fort *Duqueſne* and the other towns. They

[32] At the Easton treaty in the autumn of 1757, Teedyuscung had promised to "halloo" to all the far Indian tribes, and bring them to an understanding with the English. In January, 1758, he reported to the governor that "all the Indian Nations from the Sun Rise to these beyond the Lakes, as far as the Sun setts, have heard what has passed between you and me, and are pleased with it," and urged him to continue the work of peace. Teedyuscung was evidently enlarging upon his own importance, and to this end giving unwarrantable information.— Ed.

brought three large belts and two bundles of ſtrings;[33] there came with them a *French* captain, and fifteen men. The two meſſengers inſiſted that I ſhould go with them to fort *Duqueſne*; that there were *Indians* of eight nations, who wanted to hear me; that if I brought good news, they inclined to leave off war, and live in friendſhip with the *Engliſh*. The above meſſengers being *Indian* captains, were very ſurly. When I went to ſhake hands with one of them, he gave me his little finger; the other withdrew his hand entirely; upon which I appeared as ſtout as either, and withdrew my hand as quick as I could. Their rudeneſs to me was taken very ill by the other captains, who treated them in the ſame manner in their turn.

I told them my order was to go to the *Indian* towns, kings and captains, and not to the *French*; that the *Engliſh* were at war with the French, but not with thoſe *Indians*, who withdrew from the *French*, and would be at peace with the *Engliſh*.

King Beaver invited me to his houſe to dinner, and afterwards he invited the *French* captain, and ſaid before the *Frenchman*, that the *Indians* were very proud to ſee one of their brothers, the *Engliſh*, among them; at which the *French* captain appeared low ſpirited, and ſeemed to eat his dinner with very little appetite.

In the afternoon the *Indian* kings and captains called me aſide, and deſired me to read them the writings that I had. Firſt I read part of the *Eaſton* treaty to them;

[33] Theſe belts and ſtrings are made of ſhell-beads, called *wampum*. The *wampum* ſerves, among the *Indians*, as money; of it they alſo make their necklaces bracelets, and other ornaments. Belts and ſtrings of it are uſed in all public negotiations; to each belt or ſtring there is connected a meſſage, ſpeech, or part of a ſpeech, to be delivered with a belt by the meſſenger, or ſpeaker. Theſe belts alſo ſerve for records, being worked with figures, compoſed of beads of different colours, to aſſiſt the memory.—[C. T. ?]

but they preſently ſtopped me, and would not hear it; I then began with the articles of peace made with the *Indians* there. They ſtopped me again, and ſaid, they had nothing to ſay to any treaty, or league, of peace, made at *Eaſton*, nor had any thing to do with *Teedyuſcung*; that, if I had nothing to ſay to them from the government, or Governor, they would have nothing to ſay to me; and farther ſaid, they had hitherto been at war with the *Engliſh*, and had never expected to be at peace with them again; and that there were ſix of their men now gone to war againſt them with other *Indians*; that had there been peace between us, thoſe men ſhould not have gone to war. I then ſhewed them the belts and ſtrings from the Governor; and they again told me to lay aſide *Teedyuſcung*, and the peace made by him; for that they had nothing to do with it.[34] I deſired them to ſuffer me to produce my papers, and I would read what I had to ſay to them.

18th.— *Delaware George* is very active in endeavouring to eſtabliſh a peace. I believe he is in earneſt. Hitherto they have all treated me kindly.

In the afternoon, all the kings and captains were called together, and ſent for me to their council. King Beaver firſt addreſſed himſelf to the captains; and afterwards ſpoke to me, as follows:

"Brother, you have been here now five days by our fire.[35] We have ſent to all the kings and captains, deſiring them to come to our fire and hear the good news

[34] The peace made with *Teedyuſcung*, was for the *Delawares*, &c. on *Suſquahanna* only, and did not include the *Indians* on the *Ohio*; they having no deputies at the treaty. But he had promiſed to *halloo* to them, that is, ſend meſſengers to them, and endeavour to draw them into the peace, which he accordingly did.—[C. T.?]

[35] A fire, in public affairs, ſignifies, among the *Indians* a council.—[C. T.?]

you brought. Yeſterday they ſent two captains to acquaint us, they were glad to hear our *Engliſh* brother was come among us, and were deſirous to hear the good news he brought; and ſince there are a great many nations that went [want] to ſee our brother, they have invited us to their fire, that they may hear us all. Now, brother, we have but one great fire; ſo, brother, by this ſtring we will take you in our arms, and deliver you into the arms of the other kings, and when we have called all the nations there, we will hear the good news, you have brought.'' Delivers four ſtrings.

King *Beaver*, *Shingas*, and *Delaware George*, ſpoke as follows:

''Brother, we alone cannot make a peace; it would be of no ſignificance; for, as all the *Indians*, from the ſunriſe to the ſunſet, are united in a body, it is neceſſary that the whole ſhould join in the peace, or it can be no peace; and we can aſſure you, all the *Indians*, a great way from this, even beyond the lakes, are deſirous of, and wiſh for a peace with the *Engliſh*, and have deſired us, as we are the neareſt of kin, if we ſee the *Engliſh* incline a peace, to hold it faſt.''

On the 19th, all the people gathered together, men, women, and children; and king *Beaver* deſired me to read to them the news I had brought, and told me that all the able men would go with me to the other town. I complied with his deſire, and they appeared very much pleaſed at every thing, till I came to that part reſpecting the priſoners. This they diſliked; for, they ſay, it appears very odd and unreaſonable that we ſhould demand priſoners before there is an eſtabliſhed peace; ſuch an unreaſonable demand makes us appear as if we wanted brains.

20th.— We ſet out from *Kuſhkuſhkee*, for *Sankonk*; my company conſiſted of twenty-five horſemen and fifteen foot. We arrived at *Sankonk*, in the afternoon. The people of the town were much diſturbed at my coming, and received me in a very rough manner. They ſurrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, in ſuch a manner, that I could hardly get along; running up againſt me, with their breaſts open, as if they wanted ſome pretence to kill me. I ſaw by their countenances they ſought my death. Their faces were quite diſtorted with rage, and they went ſo far as to ſay, I ſhould not live long; but ſome *Indians*, with whom I was formerly acquainted, coming up, and ſaluting me in a friendly manner, their behaviour to me was quickly changed.

On the 21ſt, they ſent Meſſengers to Fort *Duqueſne*, to let them know I was there, and invited them to their fire. In the afternoon, I read them all my meſſage, the *French* captain being preſent; for he ſtill continued with us: upon which they were more kind to me. In the evening, fifteen more arrived here from *Kuſhkuſhkee*. The men here now [were] about one hundred and twenty.

22d.— Arrived about twenty *Shawaneſe* and *Mingos*. I read to them the meſſage; at which they ſeemed well pleaſed. Then the two kings came to me, and ſpoke in the following manner:

"Brother, we, the *Shawaneſe* and *Mingos*, have heard your meſſage; the meſſenger we ſent to Fort *Duqueſne*, is returned, and tells us, there are eight different nations there, who want to hear your meſſage; we will conduct you there, and let both the *Indians* and *French* hear what our brothers, the Engliſh, have to ſay."

I proteſted againſt going to Fort *Duqueſne*, but all in vain; for they inſiſted on my going, and ſaid that I need

not fear the *French*, for they would carry me in their boſoms, i. e. engage for my ſafety.

23d.— We ſet off for Fort *Duqueſne*, and went no farther this night than Log's town, where I met with four *Shawaneſe*, who lived in *Wyoming* when I did. They received me very kindly, and called the priſoners to ſhake hands with me, as their countryman, and gave me leave to go into every houſe to ſee them, which was done in no other town beſides.

24th.— They called to me, and deſired that I would write to the general for them. The jealouſy natural to the *Indians* is not to be deſcribed; for though they wanted me to write for them, they were afraid I would, at the ſame time, give other information, and this perplexed them.

We continued our journey to the fort; and arrived in ſight, on this ſide the river, in the afternoon, and all the *Indian* chiefs immediately came over; they called me into the middle, and king *Beaver* preſented me to them, and ſaid, "Here is our *Engliſh* brother, who has brought great news." Two of them roſe up and ſignified they were glad to ſee me. But an old deaf *Onondago Indian* roſe up and ſignified his diſpleaſure. This *Indian* is much diſliked by the others; he had heard nothing yet, that had paſſed, he has lived here a great while, and conſtantly lives in the fort, and is mightily attached to the *French*; he ſpoke as follows, to the *Delawares*:

"I do not know this *Swannock*;[36] it may be that you know him. I, the *Shawaneſe*, and our father[37] do not know him. I ſtand here (ſtamping his foot) as a man

[36] *i. e.* This Engliſhman.— [C. T. ?]

[37] By father, they expreſs the *French*.— [C. T. ?]

on his own ground;[38] therefore, I, the *Shawaneſe* and my father do not like that a *Swannock* come on our ground.'' Then there was ſilence awhile, till the pipe went round;[39] after that was over, one of the *Delawares* roſe up, and ſpoke in oppoſition to him that ſpoke laſt, and delivered himſelf as follows:

''That man ſpeaks not as a man; he endeavours to frighten us, by ſaying this ground is his; he dreams; he and his father have certainly drunk too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to ſleep till they are ſober. You do not know what your own nation does, at home; how much they have to ſay to the *Swannocks*. You are quite rotten. You ſtink.[40] You do nothing but ſmoke your pipe here. Go to ſleep with your father, and when you are ſober we will ſpeak to you.''

After this the *French* demanded me of the *Indians*. They ſaid it was a cuſtom among the white people when a meſſenger came, even if it was the Governor, to blind his eyes, and lead him into the fort, to a priſon, or private room. They, with ſome of the *Indians* inſiſted very much on my being ſent into the fort, but to no purpoſe; for the other *Indians* ſaid to the *French*; ''It may be a rule among you, but we have brought him here, that all the *Indians* might ſee him, and hear what our brothers the Engliſh have to ſay; and we will not ſuffer him to be blinded and carried into the fort.'' The *French* ſtill inſiſted on my being delivered to them; but the *Indians*

[38] By I, he here means, I, the Six Nations, of which the *Onondagoes* are one of the greateſt. This was, therefore, a claim of the *Ohio* lands, as belonging to the Six Nations, excluſive of the *Delawares*, whom they formerly called women.— [C. T. ?]

[39] The *Indians* ſmoke in their councils.— [C. T. ?]

[40] That is, the ſentiments you expreſs, are offenſive to the company.— [C. T. ?]

deſired them, to let them hear no more about it; but to ſend them one hundred loaves of bread; for they were hungry.

25th.— This morning early they ſent us over a large bullock, and all the *Indian* chiefs came over again, and counſelled a great deal among themſelves; then the *Delaware*, that handled the old deaf *Onondago* Indian ſo roughly yeſterday, addreſſed himſelf to him, in this manner; "I hope, to day, you are ſober. I am certain you did not know what you ſaid yeſterday. You endeavoured to frighten us; but know, *we are now men*, and not ſo eaſily frightened. You ſaid ſomething yeſterday of the *Shawaneſe*; ſee here what they have ſent you," (*preſenting him with a large roll of tobacco.*)

Then the old deaf *Indian* roſe up, and acknowledged he had been in the wrong; he ſaid, that he had now cleaned *himſelf*,[41] and hoped they would forgive him.

Then the Delaware delivered the meſſage, that was ſent by the *Shawaneſe* which was, "That they hoped the *Delawares*, &c. would be ſtrong,[42] in what they were undertaking; that they were extremely proud to hear ſuch good news from their brothers, the *Engliſh*; that whatever contracts they made with the *Engliſh*, the *Shawaneſe* would agree to; that they were their brothers, and that they loved them."

The *French* whiſpered to the *Indians*, as I imagined, to inſiſt on my delivering what I had to ſay, on the other ſide of the water. Which they did to no purpoſe, for my company ſtill inſiſted on a hearing on this ſide the water. The *Indians* croſſed the river to council with

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[41] That is, he had changed his offenſive ſentiments.— [C. T. ?]

[42] That is, that they would act vigorouſly.— [C. T. ?]

their Fathers.[43] My company deſired to know whether they would hear me or no. This afternoon three hundred *Canadians* arrived at the fort, and reported that ſix hundred more were ſoon to follow them, and forty battoes laden with amunition. Some of my party deſired me not to ſtir from the fire; for that the *French* had offered a great reward for my ſcalp, and that there were ſeveral parties out on that purpoſe. Accordingly I ſtuck conſtantly as cloſe to the fire, as if I had been chained there.

26th.— The Indians, with a great many of the *French* officers, came over to hear what I had to ſay. The officers brought with them a table, pens, ink and paper. I ſpoke in the middle of them with a free conſcience, and perceived by the look of the *French*, they were not pleaſed with what I ſaid; the particulars of which were as follows; I ſpoke in the name of the government and people of *Penſilvania*.

"Brethren at Allegheny, We have a long time deſired to ſee and hear from you; you know the road was quite ſtopt; and we did not know how to come through. We have ſent many meſſengers to you; but we did not hear of you; now we are very glad we have found an opening to come and ſee you, and to ſpeak with you, and to hear your true mind and reſolution. We ſalute you very heartily." A ſtring, No. 1.

"Brethren at Allegheny, Take notice of what I ſay. You know that the bad ſpirit has brought ſomething between us, that has kept us at a diſtance one from another; I now, by this belt, take every thing out of the way, that the bad ſpirit has brought between us, and all the jealouſy and fearfulneſs we had of one another, and whatever elſe the bad ſpirit might have poiſoned your

[43] The *French*, at the fort.—[C. T.?]

heart and mind with, that nothing of it may be left. Moreover let us look up to God, and beg for his aſſiſtance, that he may put into our hearts what pleaſes him, and join us cloſe in that brotherly love and friendſhip, which our grandfathers had. We aſſure you of our love towards you.'' A belt of eleven rows.

''Brothers at Allegheny, Hearken to what I ſay; we began to hear of you from *Wellemeghihink*, who returned from *Allegheny*. We heard you had but a ſlight, confuſed account of us; and did not know of the peace, we made twelve months paſt, in *Eaſton*. It was then agreed, that the large belt of peace ſhould be ſent to you at *Allegheny*. As theſe our two old friends from *Allegheny*, who are well known to many here, found an opening to come to our council fire, to ſee with their own eyes, to ſit with us face to face, to hear with their own ears, every thing that has been tranſacted between us; it gives me and all the people of the province great pleaſure to ſee them among us. And I aſſure all my brethren at *Allegheny*, that nothing would pleaſe me, and all the people of the province better, than to ſee our countrymen the *Delawares* well ſettled among us.'' A belt.

''Hearken, my brethren at *Allegheny*. When we began to make peace with the *Delawares*, twelve months ago, in behalf of ten other nations, we opened a road, and cleared the buſhes from the blood, and gathered all the bones, on both ſides, together; and when we had brought them together, in one heap, we could find no place to bury them: we would not bury them as our grandfathers did. They buried them under ground, where they may be found again. We prayed to God, that he would have mercy on us, and take all theſe bones away from us, and hide them, that they might never be

found any more; and take from both ſides all the remembrance of them out of our heart and mind. And we have a firm confidence, that God will be pleaſed to take all the bones and hide them from us, that they may never be remembered by us, while we live, nor our children, nor grand children, hereafter. The hatchet was buried on both ſides, and large belts of peace exchanged. Since we have cleared every thing from the heart, and taken every thing out of our way; now, my brethren at *Allegheny*, every one that hears me, if you will join with us, in that brotherly love and friendſhip. which our grandfathers had, we aſſure you, that all paſt offences ſhall be forgotten, and never more talked of, by us, our children and grand children hereafter. This belt aſſures you of our ſincerity, and honeſt and upright heart towards you.'' A belt of ſeven rows.

''Hearken, brethren at *Allegheny*. I have told you that we really made peace with part of your nation, twelve months paſt; I now by this belt open the road from *Allegheny* to our council fire, where your grandfathers kept good councils with us, that all may paſs without moleſtation or danger. You muſt be ſenſible, that unleſs a road be kept open, people at variance can never come together to make up their differences. Meſſengers are free in all nations throughout the world, by a particular token. Now, brethren at *Allegheny*, I deſire you will join with me in keeping the road open, and let us know in what manner we may come free to you, and what the token ſhall be. I join both my hands to yours, and will do all in my power to keep the road open.'' A belt of ſeven rows.

''Now, brethren at *Allegheny*, Hear what I ſay. Every one that lays hold of this belt of peace, I proclaim

peace to them from the *Engliſh* nation, and let you know that the great king of *England* does not incline to have war with the *Indians*; but he wants to live in peace and love with them, if they will lay down the hatchet, and leave off war againſt him.''

''We love you farther, we let you know that the great king of *England* has ſent a great number of warriors into this country, not to go to war againſt the *Indians*, in their towns, no, not at all; theſe warriors are going againſt the *French*; they are on the march to the *Ohio*, to revenge the blood they have ſhed. And by this belt I take you by the hand, and lead you at a diſtance from the *French*, for your own ſafety, that your legs may not be ſtained with blood. Come away on this ſide of the mountain, where we may oftener converſe together, and where your own fleſh and blood lives. We look upon you as our countrymen, that ſprung out of the ſame ground with us; we think, therefore, that it is our duty to take care of you, and we in brotherly love adviſe you to come away with your whole nation, and as many of your friends as you can get to follow you. We do not come to hurt you, we love you, therefore we do not call you to war, that you may be ſlain; what benefit will it be to you to go to war with your own fleſh and blood? We wiſh you may live without fear or danger with your women and children.'' The large peace belt.

''Brethren, I have almoſt finiſhed what I had to ſay, and hope it will be to your ſatisfaction; my wiſh is, that we may join cloſe together in that old brotherly love and friendſhip, which our grandfathers had; ſo that all the nations may hear and ſee us, and have the benefit of it; and if you have any uneaſineſs, or complaint, in your heart and mind, do not keep it to yourſelf. We have

opened the road to the council fire, therefore, my brethren, come and acquaint the Governor with it; you will be readily heard, and full juſtice will be done you." A belt.

"Brethren, One thing I muſt bring to your remembrance. You know, if any body loſes a little child, or ſome body takes it from him, he cannot be eaſy, he will think on his child by day and night; ſince our fleſh and blood is in captivity, in the *Indian* towns, we deſire you will rejoice the country's heart, and bring them to me; I ſhall ſtretch out my arms to receive you kindly." A ſtring.

After I had done, I left my belts and ſtrings ſtill before them. The *Delawares* took them all up, and laid them before the *Mingoes*;[44] upon which they roſe up, and ſpoke as follows:

"*Chau*, What I have heard pleaſes me well; I do not know why I go to war againſt the *Engliſh*. *Noques*, what do you think? You muſt be ſtrong. I did not begin the war, therefore, I have little to ſay; but whatever you agree to, I will do the ſame." Then he addreſſed himſelf to the *Shawaneſe*, and ſaid, "You brought the hatchet to us from the *French*, and perſuaded us to ſtrike our brothers the *Engliſh*; you may conſider (laying the belts, &c. before them) wherefore you have done this."

The *Shawaneſe* acknowledged they received the hatchet from the *French*, who perſuaded them to ſtrike the *Engliſh*; that they would now ſend the belts to all the *Indians*, and in twelve days would meet again.

Preſent at this council, three hundred *French* and *Indians*. They all took leave, and went over again to

[44] The Six Nations.—[C. T. ?]

the fort, but my companions, who were about ſeventy in number.

Shamokin Daniel, who came with me, went over to the fort by himſelf, (which my companions diſapproved of) and counſelled with the Governor; who preſented him with a laced coat and hat, a blanket, ſhirts, ribbons, a new gun, powder, lead, &c. When he returned he was quite changed, and ſaid, "See here, you fools, what the *French* have given me. I was in *Philadelphia*, and never received a farthing;" and, directing himſelf to me, he ſaid, "The Engliſh are fools, and ſo are you." In ſhort, he behaved in a very proud, ſaucy and imperious manner. He further ſaid, "The *Engliſh* never give the *Indians* any powder, and that the *French* would have given him a horſeload, if he would have taken it; ſee that young man there, he was in *Philadelphia* and never got any thing; I will take him over to the *French*; and get ſome cloathing for him."

Three *Indians* informed me, that as ſoon as the *French* got over, they called a council, with their own *Indians*, among whom there happened accidentally to be a *Delaware* captain, who was privately invited by one of his acquaintances to hear what the French had to ſay; and when they were aſſembled, the *French* ſpoke, as follows:

"My children, now we are alone, hearken to what I have to ſay. I perceive the *Delawares* are wavering; they incline to the *Engliſh*, and will be faithful to us no longer. Now all the chiefs are here, and but a handful, let us cut them off, and then we ſhall be troubled with them no longer." Then the *Tawaas* [Ottawas] anſwered, "No, we cannot do this thing; for though there is but a handful here, the *Delawares* are a ſtrong people,

and are ſpread to a great diſtance, and whatever they agree to muſt be."

This afternoon, in council, on the other ſide of the river, the *French* inſiſted that I muſt be delivered up to them, and that it was not lawful for me to go away; which occaſioned a quarrel between them and the *Indians*, who immediately came away and croſſed the river to me; and ſome of them let me know thet *Daniel* had received a ſtring from the *French*, to leave me there; but it was to no purpoſe, for they would not give their conſent; and then agreed that I ſhould ſet off before day the next morning.

27th.— Accordingly, I ſet out before day, with ſix *Indians*, and took another road, that we might not be ſeen; the main body told me, they would ſtay behind, to know whether the *French* would make an attempt to take me by force; that if they did, they, the *Indians*, would endeavour to prevent their croſſing the river, and coming ſecretly upon me. Juſt as I ſet off the *French* fired all their great guns, it being Sunday (I counted nineteen) and concluded they did the ſame every Sabbath. We paſſed through three *Shawaneſe* towns; the *Indians* appeared very proud to ſee me return, and we arrived about night at *Sawcunk*, where they were likewiſe very glad to ſee me return. Here I met with the two captains, who treated me ſo uncivilly before; they now received me very kindly, and accepted of my hand, and apologized for their former rude behaviour. Their names are *Kuckquetackton* and *Killbuck*.[45] They ſaid,

[45] Kuckquetackton (Koquethagechton) was the Indian name of the famous Delaware chief Captain White Eyes. About 1776, he succeeded Netawatwes, of whom he had been chief counsellor, as head of the nation Heckewelder first met him at this same town, where Post encountered him in 1772, and says that he strove to keep the neutrality during both Lord Dunmore's War and the

"Brother, we, in behalf of the people of *Sawcunk*, deſire that you will hold faſt what you have begun, and be ſtrong.[46] We are but little and poor, and therefore cannot do much. You are rich, and muſt go on and be ſtrong. We have done all in our power towards bringing about a peace: we have had a great quarrel about you with the *French*; but we do not mind them. Do you make haſte, and be ſtrong, and let us ſee you again." The ſaid *Killbuck* is a great captain and conjurer; he deſired me to mention him to the Governor, and aſk him if he would be pleaſed to ſend him a good ſaddle by the next meſſenger; and that he would do all in his power for the ſervice of the Engliſh.

28th.— We ſet out from *Sawcunk*, in company with twenty, for *Kuſhkuſhkee*; on the road *Shingas* addreſſed himſelf to me, and aſked, if I did not think, that, if he came to the Engliſh, they would hang him, as they had offered a great reward for his head. He ſpoke in a very ſoft and eaſy manner. I told him that was a great while ago, it was all forgotten and wiped clean away; that the

Revolution. Finding that impossible, he joined the American cause (1778), and brought an Indian contingent to the aid of General McIntosh at Fort Laurens; dying, however, before the attack was made on the Sandusky towns. He was always a firm friend of the Moravians, and though of small stature was one of the best and bravest of Delaware chiefs.

There were two chiefs known by the name of Killbuck, the younger of whom was the more famous. His Indian name was Gelelemend, and he was a grandson of the great chief Netawatwes. Born near Lehigh Water Gap in the decade 1730-40, he removed to the Allegheny with the Delawares, and later to the Muskingum, where was a village called Killbuck's Town. Like White Eyes, he was a firm friend of peace and of the whites, and his life was imperilled because of this advocacy. He joined the Moravians, and was baptized as William Henry, about 1788. Later he removed to Pittsburg to secure protection from his enemies, but died at Goshen in 1811. A lineal descendant of Killbuck is at present a Moravian missionary in Alaska.— Ed.

[46] That is, go on ſteadily with this good work of eſtabliſhing a peace.— C. T.?]

Engliſh would receive him very kindly. Then *Daniel* interrupted me, and ſaid to *Shingas*, "Do not believe him, he tells nothing but idle lying ſtories. Wherefore did the *Engliſh* hire one thouſand two hundred *Indians*[47] to kill us." I proteſted it was falſe; he ſaid, G–d d–n[48] you for a fool; did you not ſee the woman lying [in] the road that was killed by the *Indians*, that the *Engliſh* hired? I ſaid, "Brother do conſider how many thouſand *Indians* the *French* have hired to kill the *Engliſh*, and how many they have killed along the frontiers." Then *Daniel* ſaid, "D–n you, why do not you and the *French* fight on the ſea? You come here only to cheat the poor *Indians*, and take their land from them." Then *Shingas* told him to be ſtill; for he did not know what he ſaid. We arrived at *Kuſhkuſhkee* before night, and I informed *Piſquetumen* of *Daniel's* behaviour, at which he appeared ſorry.

29th.— I dined with *Shingas*; he told me, though the *Engliſh* had ſet a great price on his head, he had never thought to revenge himſelf, but was always very kind to any priſoners that were brought in;[49] and that he aſſured the Governor, he would do all in his power to bring about an eſtabliſhed peace, and wiſhed he could be certain of the *Engliſh* being in earneſt.

Then ſeven chiefs preſent ſaid, when the Governor ſends the next meſſenger, let him ſend two or three white men, at leaſt, to confirm the thing, and not ſend ſuch a man as *Daniel*; they did not underſtand him; he always

[47] Meaning the *Cherokees*.— [C. T. ?]

[48] Some of the firſt *Engliſh* ſpeech, that the *Indians* learn from the traders, is ſwearing.— [C. T. ?]

[49] Heckewelder testifies that Shingas, though a dreaded foe in battle, was never known to treat prisoners cruelly. See his *Indian Nations*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania *Memoirs* (Philadelphia, 1876), xii, pp. 269, 270.—Ed.

ſpeaks, ſaid they, as if he was drunk; and if a great many of them had not known me, they ſhould not know what to think; for every thing I ſaid he contradicted. I aſſured them I would faithfully inform the Governor of what they ſaid, and they ſhould ſee, as meſſengers, other guiſe *Indians* than *Daniel*, for the time to come; and I farther informed them, that he was not ſent by the Governor, but came on his own accord; and I would endeavour to prevent his coming back. *Daniel* demanded of me his pay, and I gave him three dollars; and he took as much wampum from me as he pleaſed, and would not ſuffer me to count it. I imagined there was about two thouſand.

About night, nine *Tawaas* paſt by here, in their way to the *French* fort.

30th and 31ſt.— The *Indians* feaſted greatly, during which time, I ſeveral times begged of them to conſider and diſpatch me.

September 1ſt.— *Shingas*, King *Beaver*, *Delaware George*, and *Piſquetumen*, with ſeveral other captains ſaid to me,

"Brother, We have thought a great deal ſince God has brought you to us; and this is a matter of great conſequence, which we cannot readily anſwer; we think on it, and will anſwer you as ſoon as we can. Our feaſt hinders us; all our young men, women and children are glad to ſee you; before you came, they all agreed together to go and join the *French*; but ſince they have ſeen you, they all draw back; though we have great reaſon to believe you intend to drive us away, and ſettle the country; or elſe, why do you come to fight in the land that God has given us?"

I ſaid, we did not intend to take the land from them;

but only to drive the *French* away. They ſaid, they knew better; for that they were informed ſo by our greateſt traders; and ſome Juſtices of the Peace had told them the ſame, and the *French*, ſaid they, tell us much the ſame thing,—"that the *Engliſh* intend to deſtroy us, and take our lands;" but the land is ours, and not theirs; therefore, we ſay, if you will be at peace with us, we will ſend the *French* home. It is you that have begun the war, and it is neceſſary that you hold faſt, and be not diſcouraged, in the work of peace. We love you more than you love us; for when we take any priſoners from you, we treat them as our own children. We are poor, and yet we clothe them as well as we can, though you ſee our children are as naked as at the firſt. By this you may ſee that our hearts are better than yours. It is plain that you white people are the cauſe of this war; why do not you and the *French* fight in the old country, and on the ſea? Why do you come to fight on our land? This makes every body believe, you want to take the land from us by force, and ſettle it.[50]

I told them, "Brothers, as for my part, I have not one foot of land, nor do I deſire to have any; and if I had any land, I had rather give it to you, than take any from you. Yes, brothers, if I die, you will get a little more land from me; for I ſhall then no longer walk on that ground, which God has made. We told you that you ſhould keep

[50] The Indians, having plenty of land, are no niggards of it. They ſometimes give large tracts to their friends freely; and when they ſell it, they make moſt generous bargains. But ſome *fraudulent purchaſes*, in which they were groſſly impoſed on, and ſome *violent intruſions*, imprudently and wickedly made without purchaſe, have rendered them jealous that we intend finally to take all from them by force. We ſhould endeavour to recover our credit with them by fair purchaſes and honeſt payments; and then there is no doubt but they will readily ſell us, at reaſonable rates, as much, from time to time, as we can poſſibly have occaſion for.—[C. T. ?]

nothing in your heart, but bring it before the council fire, and before the Governor, and his council; they will readily hear you; and I promiſe you, what they anſwer they will ſtand to. I further read to you what agreements they made about *Wioming*,[51] and they ſtand to them."

They ſaid, "Brother, your heart is good, you ſpeak always ſincerely; but we know there are always a great number of people that want to get rich; they never have enough; look, we do not want to be rich, and take away that which others have. God has given you the tame creatures; we do not want to take them from you. God has given to us the deer, and other wild creatures, which we muſt feed on; and we rejoice in that which ſprings out of the ground, and thank God for it. Look now, my brother, the white people think we have no brains in our heads; but that they are great and big, and that makes them make war with us: we are but a little handful to what you are; but remember, when you look for a wild turkey you cannot always find it, it is ſo little it hides itſelf under the buſhes: and when you hunt for a rattle-ſnake, you cannot find it; and perhaps it will bite you before you ſee it. However, ſince you are ſo great and big, and we ſo little, do you uſe your greatneſs and ſtrength in compleating this work of peace. This is the firſt time that we ſaw or heard of you, ſince the war begun, and we have great reaſon to think about it, ſince ſuch a great body of you comes into our lands.[52] It is told us, that you and the *French* contrived the war, to waſte the *Indians* between you; and that you and the *French* intended to divide the land between you: this was

[51] The agreement made with *Teedyuſcung*, that he ſhould enjoy the *Wioming* lands, and have houſes built there for him and his people.—[C. T. ?]

[52] The army under *General Forbes*.—[C. T. ?]

told us by the chief of the *Indian* traders; and they ſaid further, brothers, this is the laſt time we ſhall come among you; for the *French* and the *Engliſh* intend to kill all the *Indians*, and then divide the land among themſelves.

Then they addreſſed themſelves to me, and ſaid, "Brother, I ſuppoſe you know ſomething about it; or has the Governor ſtopped your mouth, that you cannot tell us?"

Then I ſaid, "Brothers, I am very ſorry to ſee you ſo jealous. I am your own fleſh and blood, and ſooner than I would tell you any ſtory that would be of hurt to you, or your children, I would ſuffer death: and if I did not know that it was the deſire of the Governor, that we ſhould renew our old brotherly love and friendſhip, that ſubſiſted between our grandfathers, I would not have undertaken this journey. I do aſſure you of mine and the people's honeſty. If the *French* had not been here, the *Engliſh* would not have come; and conſider, brothers, whether, in ſuch a caſe, we can always ſit ſtill."

Then they ſaid, "It is a thouſand pities we did not know this ſooner; if we had, it would have been peace long before now."

Then I ſaid, "My brothers, I know you have been wrongly perſuaded by many wicked people; for you muſt know, that there are a great many Papiſts in the country, in *French* intereſt, who appear like gentlemen, and have ſent many runaway Iriſh papiſt ſervants[53] among you, who have put bad notions into your heads, and ſtrengthened you againſt your brothers the *Engliſh*.

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[53] The *Indian* traders uſed to buy the tranſported *Iriſh*, and other convicts, as ſervants, to be employed in carrying up the goods among the *Indians*. The ill behaviour of theſe people has always hurt the character of the *Engliſh* among the *Indians*.—[C. T.?]

"Brothers, I beg that you would not believe every idle and falſe ſtory, that ill-deſigning people may bring to you againſt us your brothers. Let us not hearken to what lying and fooliſh people may bring to you, againſt us your brothers. Let us not hearken to what lying and fooliſh people ſay, but let us hear what wiſe and good people ſay; they will tell us what is good for us and our children."

Mem. There are a great number of *Iriſh* traders now among the *Indians*, who have always endeavoured to ſpirit up the *Indians* againſt the *Engliſh*; which made ſome, that I was acquainted with from their infancy, deſire the chiefs to enquire of me, for that they were certain I would ſpeak the truth.

Piſquetumen now told me, we could not go to the General, that it was very dangerous, the *French* having ſent out ſeveral ſcouts to wait for me on the road. And further, *Piſquetumen* told me, it was a pity the Governor had no ear,[54] to bring him intelligence; that the *French* had three ears, whom they rewarded with great preſents; and ſignified, that he and *Shingas* would be ears, at the ſervice of his honour, if he pleaſed.

2d.— I bade *Shingas* to make haſte and diſpatch me, and once more deſired to know of them, if it was poſſible for them to guide me to the General. Of all which they told me they would conſider; and *Shingas* gave me his hand, and ſaid, "Brother, the next time you come, I will return with you to *Philadelphia*, and will do all in my power to prevent any body's coming to hurt the *Engliſh* more."

3d.— To-day I found myſelf unwell, and made a little tea, which refreſhed me: had many very pretty diſcourſes

[54] No ſpy among his enemies.—[C. T. ?]

with *George*. In the afternoon they called a council together, and gave me the following anſwer in council; the ſpeaker addreſſing the Governor and people of *Pennſylvania*:

"Brethren, It is a great many days ſince we have ſeen or heard from you.[55] I now ſpeak to you in behalf of all the nations, that have heard you heretofore.

"Brethren, it is the first meſſage which we have ſeen or heard from you. Brethren, you have talked of that peace and friendſhip which we had formerly with you. Brethren, we tell you to be ſtrong, and always remember that friendſhip, which we had formerly. Brethren, we deſire you would be ſtrong, and let us once more hear of our good friendſhip and peace, we had formerly. Brethren, we deſire that you make haſte, and let us hear of you again; for, as yet, we have not heard you rightly." Gives a ſtring.

"Brethren, hear what I have to ſay: look, brethren, we, who have now ſeen and heard you, we, who are preſent, are part of all the ſeveral nations, that heard you ſome days ago; we ſee that you are ſorry we have not that friendſhip, we formerly had.

"Look, brethren, we at *Allegheny* are likewiſe ſorry we have not that friendſhip with you, which we formerly had. Brethren, we long for that peace and friendſhip we had formerly. Brethren, it is good that you deſire that friendſhip, that was formerly among our fathers and

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[55] That is, ſince we had a friendly intercourſe with each other. The frequent repetition of the word, *Brethren*, is the effect of their rules of politeneſs, which enjoin, in all converſations, a conſtant remembrance of the relation subſiſting between the parties, eſpecially where that relation implies any affection, or reſpect. It is like the perpetual repetitions among us, of *Sir*, or, *Madam*, or, *Your Lordſhip*. In the ſame manner the *Indians* at every ſentence repeat, *My Father, My Uncle, My Couſin, My Brother, My Friend*, &c.—[C. T. ?]

grandfathers. Brethren, we will tell you, you muſt not let that friendſhip be quite loſt, which was formerly between us.

"Now, brethren, it is three years ſince we dropt that peace and friendſhip, which we formerly had with you. Brethren, it was dropt, and lay buried in the ground, where you and I ſtand, in the middle between us both. Brethren, I ſee you have digged up, and revived, that friendſhip, which was buried in the ground; and now you have it, hold it faſt. Do be ſtrong, brethren, and exert yourſelves, that that friendſhip may be well eſtabliſhed and finiſhed between us. Brethren, if you will be ſtrong, it is in your power to finiſh that peace and friendſhip well. Therefore, brethren, we deſire you to be ſtrong and eſtabliſh it, and make known to all the *Engliſh* this peace and friendſhip, that it may embrace all and cover all. As you are of one nation and colour, in all the *Engliſh* governments, ſo let the peace be the ſame with all. Brethren, when you have finiſhed this peace, which you have begun; when it is known every where amongſt your brethren, and you have every where agreed together on this peace and friendſhip, then you will be pleaſed to ſend the great peace belt to us at *Allegheny*.

"Brethren, when you have ſettled this peace and friendſhip, and finiſhed it well, and you ſend the great peace-belt to me, I will ſend it to all the nations of my colour, they will all join to it, and we all will hold it faſt.

"Brethren, when all the nations join to this friendſhip, then the day will begin to ſhine clear over us. When we hear once more of you, and we join together, then the day will be ſtill, and no wind, or ſtorm, will come over us, to diſturb us.

"Now, brethren, you know our hearts, and what we have to ſay; be ſtrong; if you do what we have now told you, and in this peace all the nations agree to join. Now, brethren, let the king of *England* know what our mind is as ſoon as poſſibly you can."[56] Gives a belt of eight rows.

I received the above ſpeech and belt from the underwritten, who are all captains and counſellors.

BEAVER, KING,	CAPTAIN PETER,
DELAWARE GEORGE,	MACOMAL,
PISQUETUMEN,	POPAUCE,
TASUCAMIN,	WASHAOCAUTAUT,
AWAKANOMIN,	COCHQUACAUKEHLTON,
CUSHAWMEKWY,	JOHN HICKOMEN, and
KEYHEYNAPALIN,	KILL BUCK.

Delaware George ſpoke as follows:

"Look, brothers, we are here of three different nations. I am of the Unami nation:[57] I have heard all the ſpeeches that you have made to us with the many other nations.

"Brothers, you did let us know, that every one that takes hold of this peace-belt, you would take them by the hand, and lead them to the council fire, where our grandfathers kept good councils. So ſoon as I heard this, I took hold of it.

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[56] In this ſpeech the *Indians* carefully guard the honour of their nation, by frequently intimating, that the peace is *ſought by the Engliſh*: *you have talked of peace*: *you are ſorry for the war*: *you have digged up the peace, that was buried*, &c. Then they declare their readineſs to grant peace, if the Engliſh agree to its being general for all the colonies. The *Indian* word, that is tranſlated, be ſtrong, ſo often repeated, is an expreſſion they uſe to ſpirit up perſons, who have undertaken ſome difficult task, as to lift, or move, a great weight, or execute a difficult enterprise; nearly equivalent to our word, *courage*! *courage*!— [C. T. ?]

[57] The three tribes of the Delaware nation — the Unamis, Unalachtgo, and Minsi — were designated by the totems turtle, turkey, and wolf. The chief of the first of these was the head chief of the nation, being chosen and installed with great ceremony and rejoicing. See Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, pp. 51, 53.— ED.

"Brother, I now let you know that my heart never was parted from you. I am ſorry that I ſhould make friendſhip with the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*. I now aſſure you my heart ſticks cloſe to the Engliſh intereſt. One of our great captains, when he heard it, immediately took hold of it as well as myſelf. Now, Brother, I let you know that you ſhall ſoon ſee me by your council fire, and then I ſhall hear from you myſelf, the plain truth, in every reſpect.

"I love that which is good, like as our grandfathers did: they choſe to ſpeak the ſentiments of their mind: all the *Five Nations* know me, and know that I always ſpoke truth; and ſo you ſhall find, when I come to your council fire." Gives a ſtring.

The above *Delaware George* had in company with him,

CUSHAWMEKWY, JOHN PETER,
KEHKEHNOPATIN, STINFEOR.
CAPTAIN PETER,

4th.— Preſent, *Shingas*, King *Beaver*, *Piſquetumen*, and ſeveral others. I aſked what they meant by ſaying, "*They had not rightly heard me yet.*" They ſaid,

"Brother, you very well know that you have collected all your young men about the country, which makes a large body;[58] and now they are ſtanding *before our doors*;[59] you come with good news and fine ſpeeches. Brother, this is what makes us jealous, and we do not know what to think of it: if you had brought the news of peace before your army had begun to march, it would have cauſed a great deal more good. We do not ſo readily believe you, becauſe a great many great men and traders have told us, long before the war, that you and

[58] Meaning General Forbes's army.—[C. T. ?]

[59] *i. e.* Juſt ready to enter our country.—[C. T. ?]

the *French* intended to join and cut all the *Indians* off. Theſe were people of your own colour, and your own countrymen; and ſome told us to join the *French*; for that they would be our fathers: beſides, many runaways have told us the ſame ſtory; and ſome we took priſoners told us how you would uſe us, if you caught us: therefore, brother, I ſay, we cannot conclude, at this time, but muſt ſee and hear you once more." And further they ſaid,

"Now, brother, you are here with us, you are our fleſh and blood, ſpeak from the bottom of your heart, will not the *French* and *Engliſh* join together to cut off the *Indians*? Speak, brother, from your heart, and tell us the truth, and let us know who were the beginners of the war."

Then I delivered myſelf thus:

"Brothers, I love you from the bottom of my heart. I am extremely ſorry to ſee the jealousy ſo deeply rooted in your hearts and minds. I have told you the truth; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hundred times, it ſeems you would not rightly believe me. My *Indian* brothers, I wiſh you would draw your hearts to God, that he may convince you of the truth.

"I do now declare, before God, that the *Engliſh* never did, nor never will, join with the French to deſtroy you. As far as I know, the *French* are the beginners of this war. Brothers, about twelve years ago, you may remember, they had war with the Engliſh, and they both agreed to articles of peace. The *Engliſh* gave up *Cape Breton* in *Acadia*, but the *French* never gave up the part of that country, which they had agreed to give up; and, in a very little time, made their *Children* ſtrike the *Engliſh*. This was the firſt cauſe of the war. Now, brothers; if any body ſtrike you three times, one after another, you ſtill

ſit ſtill and conſider: they ſtrike you again, then, my brothers, you ſay, it is time, and you will riſe up to defend yourſelves. Now, my brothers, this is exactly the caſe between the *French* and *Engliſh*. Conſider farther, my brothers, what a great number of our poor back inhabitants have been killed ſince the *French* came to the *Ohio*. The French are the cauſe of their death, and if they were not there, the *Engliſh* would not trouble themſelves to go there. They go no where to war, but where the French are. Thoſe wicked people that ſet you at variance with the *Engliſh*, by telling you many wicked ſtories, are papiſts in French pay: beſides, there are many among us, in the *French* ſervice, who appear like gentlemen, and buy Iriſh papiſt ſervants, and promiſe them great rewards to run away to you and ſtrengthen you againſt the *Engliſh*, by making them appear as black as devils.''

This day arrived here two hundred *French* and *Indians*, on their way to fort *Duqueſne*. They ſtaid all night. In the middle of the night king *Beaver's* daughter died, on which a great many guns were fired in the town.

5th.— It made a general ſtop in my journey. The *French* ſaid to their Children, they ſhould catch me privately, or get my ſcalp. The commander wanted to examine me, as he was going to *fort Duqueſne*. When they told me of it, I ſaid, as he was going to *fort Duqueſne*, he might enquire about me there: I had nothing at all to ſay, or do with the *French*: they would tell them every particular they wanted to know in the fort. They all came into the houſe where I was, as if they would ſee a new creature.

In the afternoon there came ſix *Indians*, and brought three German priſoners, and two ſcalps of the *Catabaws*.

As *Daniel* blamed the *Engliſh*, that they never paid

him for his trouble, I aſked him whether he was pleaſed with what I paid him. He ſaid, no. I ſaid, "Brother, you took as much as you pleaſed." I aſked you, whether you was ſatisfied; you ſaid, yes. I told him, I was aſhamed to hear him blame the country ſo. I told him, "You ſhall have for this journey whatever you deſire, when I reach the inhabitants."

6th.— *Piſquetumen*, *Tom Hickman* and *Shingas* told me,

"Brother, it is good that you have ſtayed ſo long with us; we love to ſee you, and wiſh to ſee you here longer; but ſince you are ſo deſirous to go, you may ſet off to morrow: *Piſquetumen* has brought you here, and he may carry you home again: you have ſeen us, and we have talked a great deal together, which we have not done for a long time before. Now, Brother, we love you, but cannot help wondering why the *Engliſh* and *French* do not make up with one another, and tell one another not to fight on our land."

I told them, "Brother, if the *Engliſh* told the *French* ſo a thouſand times, they never would go away. Brother, you know ſo long as the world has ſtood there has not been ſuch a war. You know when the French lived on the other ſide, the war was there, and here we lived in peace. Conſider how many thouſand men are killed, and how many houſes are burned ſince the *French* lived here; if they had not been here it would not have been ſo; you know we do not blame you; we blame the *French*; they are the cauſe of this war; therefore, we do not come to hurt you, but to chaſtiſe the *French*."

They told me, that at the great council, held at *Onondago*, among the *Five Nations*, before the war began (*Conrad Weiſer* was there, and wrote every thing down)

it was ſaid to the *Indians* at the *Ohio*, that they ſhould let the *French* alone there, and leave it entirely to the *Five Nations*; the *Five Nations* would know what to do with them. Yet ſoon after two hundred *French* and *Indians* came and built *Fort Duqueſne*.

King *Beaver* and *Shingas* ſpoke to *Piſquetumen*.

"Brother, you told us that the Governor of *Philadelphia* and *Teedyuſcung* took this man out of their boſoms, and put him into your boſom, that you ſhould bring him here; and you have brought him here to us; and we have ſeen and heard him; and now we give him into your boſom, to bring him to the ſame place again, before the Governor; but do not let him quite looſe; we ſhall rejoice when we ſhall ſee him here again." They deſired me to ſpeak to the Governor, in their behalf, as follows:

"Brother, we beg you to remember our oldeſt brother, *Piſquetumen*, and furniſh him with good cloathes, and reward him well for his trouble; for we ſhall look upon him when he comes back."

7th.— When we were ready to go, they began to council which courſe we ſhould go, to be ſafeſt; and then they hunted for the horſes, but could not find them; and ſo we loſt that day's journey.

It is a troubleſome croſs and heavy yoke to draw this people: They can puniſh and ſqueeze a body's heart to the utmoſt. I ſuſpect the reaſon they kept me here ſo long was by inſtigation of the *French*. I remember ſomebody told me, the *French* told them to keep me twelve days longer, for that they were afraid I ſhould get back too ſoon, and give information to the general. My heart has been very heavy here, becauſe they kept me for no purpoſe. The Lord knows how they have been counſelling about my life; but they did not know who

was my protector and deliverer: I believe my Lord has been too ſtrong againſt them; my enemies have done what lies in their power.

8th.— We prepared for our journey on the morning, and made ourſelves ready. There came ſome together and examined me what I had wrote yeſterday. I told them, I wondered what need they had to concern themſelves about my writing. They ſaid, if they knew I had wrote about the priſoners, they would not let me go out of the town. I told them what I writ was my duty to do. "Brothers, I tell you, I am not afraid of you, if there were a thouſand more. I have a good conſcience before God and man. I tell you I have wrote nothing about the priſoners. I tell you, Brothers, this is not good; there's a bad ſpirit in your heart, which breeds that jealouſy; and it will keep you ever in fear, that you will never get reſt. I beg you would pray to God, for grace to reſiſt that wicked ſpirit, that breeds ſuch wicked jealouſies in you; which is the reaſon you have kept me here ſo long. How often have I begged of you to diſpatch me? I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo jealous; I am not, in the leaſt, afraid of you. Have I not brought writings to you? and what, do you think I muſt not carry ſome home, to the Governor? or, ſhall I ſhut my mouth, and ſay nothing? Look into your hearts, and ſee if it would be right or wrong, if any body gives a ſalutation to their friends, and it is not returned in the ſame way. You told me many times how kind you were to the priſoners, and now you are afraid that any of them ſhould ſpeak to me."[60]

They told me, they had cauſe to be afraid; and then

[60] Two of the prisoners mention their pleasure at seeing Post, and the fact that the Indians forbade them to communicate with him. See "Narrative of Marie le Roy and Barbara Leininger," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd series (Harrisburg, 1878), vii, pp. 401-412.— Ed.

made a draught, and ſhewed me how they were ſurrounded with war. Then I told them, if they would be quiet, and keep at a diſtance, they need not fear. Then they went away, very much aſhamed, one after another. I told my men, that we muſt make haſte and go; accordingly we ſet off, in the afternoon, from *Kuſhkuſhkee*, and came ten miles.

9th.— We took a little foot-path hardly to be ſeen. We left it, and went through thick buſhes, till we came to a mire, which we did not ſee, till we were in it; and *Tom Hickman* fell in, and almoſt broke his leg. We had hard work before we could get the horſe out again. The Lord helped me, that I got ſafe from my horſe. I and *Piſquetumen* had enough to do to come through. We paſſed many ſuch places: it rained all day; and we got a double portion of it, becauſe we received all that hung on the buſhes. We were as wet as if we were ſwimming all the day; and at night we laid ourſelves down in a ſwampy place to ſleep, where we had nothing but the heavens for our covering.

10th.— We had but little to live on. *Tom Hickman* ſhot a deer on the road. Every thing here, upon the *Ohio*, is extremely dear, much more ſo than in *Pennſylvania*: I gave for one diſh of corn four hundred and ſixty *wampum*. They told me that the Governor of *fort Duqueſne* kept a ſtore of his own, and that all the *Indians* muſt come and buy the goods of him; and when they come and buy, he tells them, if they will go to war, they ſhall have as much goods as they pleaſe. Before I ſet off, I heard further, that a *French* captain who goes to all the *Indian* towns[61] came to *Sacunck*, and ſaid, "Children,

[61] He was ſent to collect the *Indians* together, to attack General Forbes's army, once more, on their march.—[C. T. ?]

will you not come and help your father againſt the *Engliſh*?'' They anſwered, ''Why ſhould we go to war againſt our brethren? They are now our friends.'' ''O! Children,'' ſaid he, ''I hope you do not own them for friends.'' ''Yes,'' ſaid they, ''We do; we are their friends, and we hope they will remain ours.'' ''O! Children, ſaid he, you muſt not believe what you have heard, and what has been told you by that man.'' They ſaid to him, ''Yes, we do believe him more than we do you: it was you that ſet us againſt them; and we will by and by have peace with them;'' and then he ſpoke not a word more, but returned to the fort. So, I hope, ſome good is done: praiſed be the name of the Lord.

11th.— Being Monday, we went over *Antigoc*:[62] we went down a very ſteep hill, and our horſes ſlipt ſo far, that I expected, every moment, they would fall heels over head. We found freſh *Indian* tracts on the other ſide of the river. We croſſed *Allegheny* river, and went through the buſhes upon a high hill, and ſlept upon the ſide of the mountain, without fire, for fear of the enemy. It was a cold night, and I had but a thin blanket to cover myſelf.

12th.— We made a little fire, to warm ourſelves in the morning. Our horſes began to be weary with climbing up and down theſe ſteep mountains. We came this night to the top of a mountain, where we found a log-houſe. Here we made a ſmall fire, juſt to boil ourſelves a little victuals. The *Indians* were very much afraid, and lay with their guns and tomhocks on all night. They heard ſomebody run and whiſper in the night. I ſlept very ſound, and in the morning they aſked me, if I was not

[62] The creek, here called ''Antigoc'' was probably Venango or the French Creek, which the Delawares designated as Attigé.— ED.

afraid the enemy *Indians* would kill me. I ſaid, "No, I am not afraid of the *Indians*, nor the devil himſelf: I fear my great Creator, God." "Aye, they ſaid, you know you will go to a good place when you die, but we do not know that: that makes us afraid."

13th.— In the afternoon we twice croſſed *Chowatin*, and came to *Ponchefſtanning*,[63] an old deſerted Indian town, that lies on the ſame creek. We went through a bad ſwamp, where were very thick ſharp thorns, ſo that they tore our cloaths and fleſh, both hands and face, to a bad degree. We had this kind of road all the day. In the evening we made a fire, and then they heard ſomething ruſh, in the buſhes, as though they heard ſomebody walk. Then we went about three gun-ſhot from our fire, and could not find a place to lie down on, for the innumerable rocks; ſo that we were obliged to get ſmall ſtones to fill up the hollow places in the rocks, for our bed; but it was very uneaſy; almoſt ſhirt and ſkin grew together. They kept watch one after another all night.

14th.— In the morning, I aſked them what made them afraid. They ſaid, I knew nothing; the *French* had ſet a great price on my head; and they knew there was gone out a great ſcout to lie in wait for me. We went over great mountains and a very bad road.

15th.— We came to *Suſquehanna*, and croſſed it ſix times, and came to *Catawaweſhink*. where had been an old *Indian* town.[64] In the evening there came three *Indians*, and ſaid they ſaw two *Indian* tracks, which came to the place where we ſlept, and turned back, as if to

[63] The Indian name of this town, in Jefferson County, on the Mahoning Creek, is usually given as Punxatawny.— Ed.

[64] Probably this was the town called "Calamaweshink" or "Chinklemoose," Clearfield.— Ed.

give information of us to a party; ſo that we were ſure they followed us.

16th and 17th.— We croſſed the mountain.

18th.— Came to the *Big Iſland*, where having nothing to live on, we were obliged to ſtay to hunt.

19th.— We met 20 warriors, who were returning from the inhabitants, with five priſoners and one ſcalp; ſix of them were *Delawares*, the reſt *Mingoes*. We ſat down all in one ring together. I informed them where I had been, and what was done; they aſked me to go back a little, and ſo I did, and ſlept all night with them. I informed them of the particulars of the peace propoſed; they ſaid, "If they had known ſo much before, they would not have gone to war. Be ſtrong; if you make a good peace, then we will bring all the priſoners back again." They killed two deer, and gave me one.

20th.— We took leave of each other, and went on our journey, and arrived the 22d at *fort Auguſta*, in the afternoon, very weary and hungry; but greatly rejoiced of our return from this tedious journey.

There is not a prouder, or more high minded people, in themſelves, than the Indians. They think themſelves the wiſeſt and prudenteſt men in the world; and that they can over-power both the *French* and *Engliſh* when they pleaſe. The white people are, in their eyes, nothing at all. They ſay, that through their conjuring craft they can do what they pleaſe, and nothing can withſtand them In their way of fighting they have this method, to ſee that they first ſhoot the officers and commanders; and then, they ſay, we ſhall be ſure to have them. They alſo ſay, that if their conjurers run through the middle of our people, no bullet can hurt them. They ſay too, that when they have ſhot the commanders, the ſoldiers

will all be confuſed, and will not know what to do. They ſay of themſelves, that every one of them is like a king and captain, and fights for himſelf. By this way they imagine they can overthrow any body of men, that may come againſt them. They ſay, "The *Engliſh* people are fools; they hold their guns half man high, and then let them ſnap: we take ſight and have them at a ſhot, and ſo do the *French*; they do not only ſhoot with a bullet, but big ſwan ſhot." They ſay, the French load with a bullet and ſix ſwan-ſhot. They further ſay, "We take care to have the firſt ſhot at our enemies, and then they are half dead before they begin to fight."

The *Indians* are a people full of jealouſy, and will not eaſily truſt any body; and they are very eaſily affronted, and brought into jealouſy; then afterwards they will have nothing at all to do with thoſe they ſuſpect; and it is not brought ſo eaſy out of their minds; they keep it to their graves, and leave the ſeed of it in their children and grand children's minds; ſo, if they can, they will revenge themſelves for every imagined injury. They are a very diſtruſtful people. Through their imagination and reaſon they think themſelves a thouſand times ſtronger than all other people. *Fort du Queſne* is ſaid to be undermined. The *French* have given out, that, if we overpower them, and they ſhould die, we ſhould certainly all die with them. When I came to the fort, the garriſon, it was ſaid, conſiſted of about one thouſand four hundred men; and I am told they will now be full three thouſand *French* and *Indians*. They are almoſt all *Canadians*, and will certainly meet the general before he comes to the fort, in an ambuſh. You may depend upon it the *French* will make no open field-battle, as in the old country, but lie in ambuſh. The *Canadians* are all

hunters. The *Indians* have agreed to draw back; but how far we may give credit to their promiſes the Lord knows. It is the beſt way to be on our guard againſt them, as they really could with one thouſand overpower eight thouſand.

Thirty-two nights I lay in the woods; the heavens were my covering. The dew came ſo hard ſometimes, that it pinched cloſe to the ſkin. There was nothing that laid ſo heavy on my heart, as the man that went along with me. He thwarted me in every thing I ſaid or did; not that he did it againſt me, but againſt the country, on whoſe buſineſs I was ſent: I was afraid he would overthrow what I went about. When he was with the *Engliſh* he would ſpeak againſt the *French*, and when with the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*. The *Indians* obſerved that he was a falſe fellow, and deſired me, that I would not bring him any more, to tranſact any buſineſs between the *Engliſh* and them; and told me, it was through his means I could not have the liberty to talk with the priſoners.

Praiſe and glory be to the *Lamb*, that has been ſlain, and brought me through the country of dreadful jealouſy and miſtruſt, where the prince of this world has his rule and government over the children of diſobedience.

The Lord has preſerved me through all the dangers and difficulties, that I have ever been under. He directed me according to his will, by his holy ſpirit. I had no one to converſe with but him. He brought me under a thick, heavy, and dark cloud, into the open air; for which I adore, praiſe, and worſhip the Lord my God, that I know has graſped me in his hands, and has forgiven me for all ſins, and ſent and waſhed my heart with his moſt precious blood; that I now live not for myſelf, but for him

that made me; and to do his holy will is my pleaſure. I own that, in the children of light, there dwells another kind of ſpirit, than there does in the children of this world; therefore, theſe two ſpirits cannot rightly agree in fellowſhip.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST.

THE JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST, ON A MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE INDIANS ON THE OHIO, IN THE LATTER PART OF THE SAME YEAR.

October 25th, 1758.— HAVING received the orders of the honourable Governor *Denny*,[65] I ſet out from *Eaſton* to *Bethlehem*, and arrived there about three o'clock in the afternoon; I was employed moſt of the night, in preparing myſelf with neceſſaries, &c. for the journey.

26th.— Roſe early, but my horſe being lame, though I travelled all the day, I could not, till after night, reach to an inn, about ten miles from *Reading*.

27th.— I ſet out early, and about ſeven o'clock in the morning came to *Reading*, and there found Captain *Bull*, Mr. *Hays*,[66] and the *Indians* juſt mounted, and ready to ſet out on their journey; they were heartily glad to ſee me; *Piſquetomen* ſtretched out his arms, and ſaid, "Now, Brother, I am glad I have got you in my arms, I will not let you go, I will not let you go again from me, you muſt

[65] The proprietors of Pennsylvania chose William Denny lieutenant-governor (1756), because they wished a "military man with a ready pen." He had been captain in the British army, and his experience in Pennsylvania gave opportunity for military talents. But bound by instructions from his principals, and hampered by the hostility of the provincial assembly, he made no headway in his government. Accused of accepting bribes to betray the proprietors' interests, he was removed in October, 1759. Returning to England, he was given a high position in the army, and died about 1766.— Ed.

[66] Captain Bull and Lieutenant Hays were militia officers, the latter of Northampton County, where was an Irish settlement between Bethlehem and Fort Allen, known as "Hays's." Captain John Bull commanded at Fort Allen in the summer of 1758. They both volunteered to undertake this hazardous mission of a visit to the Ohio Indians. For the instructions given them, see *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, p. 556.— Ed.

go with me:'' and I likewiſe ſaid the ſame to him, and told him, ''I will accompany you, if you will go the ſame way as I muſt go.'' And then I called them together, in Mr. *Weiſer's* houſe, and read a letter to them, which I had received from the Governor, which is as follows, viz.

''To *Piſquetomen* and *Thomas Hickman*, to *Totiniontenna* and *Shickalamy*, and to *Iſaac Still*.[67]

''Brethren, Mr. *Frederick Poſt* is come expreſs from the general, who ſends his compliments to you, and deſires you would come by the way of his camp, and give him an opportunity of talking with you.

''By this ſtring of wampum I requeſt of you to alter your intended rout by way of *Shamokin*,[68] and to go to the general,[69] who will give you a kind reception. It is a

[67] Thomas Hickman was an Indian who had taken an English name, and was much employed by the province of Pennsylvania as an interpreter. A brutal white man murdered Hickman in the Tuscarora Valley in 1761.

Totiniontenna was a Cayuga chieftain who with Shickalamy was deputed by the Six Nations to undertake this embassy to the Ohio Indians.

The chief here called Shickalamy was the youngest son, of the famous Oneida of that name, who dwelt so long at the forks of the Susquehanna, and was friendly to the whites, especially the Moravians. The elder chief died in 1749, his most famous son being Logan.

Isaac Still was a Moravian Christian Indian, frequently employed as a messenger and interpreter.— ED.

[68] Shamokin was an Indian town at the forks of the Susquehanna, the abode of Shickalamy, ''vice-king'' of the Indians of that region. It was first visited by the whites in 1728. Weiser built a house at this village by request of the chief, in 1744. Frequent visits of the Moravians led to the establishment here of a blacksmith's shop, and a quasi-mission. Fort Augusta was built there in 1756; but on the proclamation of war against the Delawares in the same year, the Indians abandoned the place and destroyed the settlement.— ED.

[69] The general here referred to was John Forbes, a Scotchman who in 1757 was appointed brigadier-general for the war in America. His first service was at Louisburg. In 1758, he was appointed to organize the expedition against Fort Duquesne. After the French on the approach of Forbes's army, had abandoned that stronghold, the general, suffering from a serious disease, was carried by slow stages to Philadelphia, where he died in March, 1760. He was a man of iron purpose, and great strength of character, being popular alike with his soldiers and Indian allies.— ED.

nigher way, in which you will be better ſupplied with proviſions, and can travel with leſs fatigue and more ſafety. "WILLIAM DENNY.

"*Eaſton, October 23d*, 1758."

To which I added, "Brethren, I take you by this ſtring,[70] by the hand, and lift you from this place, and lead you along to the general."

After which they conſulted among themſelves, and ſoon reſolved to go with me. We ſhook hands with each other, and Mr. Hays immediately ſet out with them; after which, having with ſome difficulty procured a freſh horſe, in the king's ſervice, I ſet off about noon with captain *Bull*; and when we came to *Conrad Weiſer's* plantation, we found *Piſquetomen* lying on the ground very drunk,[71] which obliged us to ſtay there all night; the other *Indians* were gone eight miles farther on their journey.

28th.— We roſe early, and I ſpoke to *Piſquetomen* a great deal; he was very ſick, and could hardly ſtir; when we overtook the reſt, we found them in the ſame condition; and they ſeemed diſcouraged, from going the way to the general; and wanted to go through the woods. I told them, I was ſorry to ſee them wavering, and reminded them, that when I went to their towns, I was not ſent to the *French*, but when your old men inſiſted on my going to them, I followed their advice, and went; and as the general is, in the king's name, over the provinces, in

[70] A ſtring of *wampum* beads. Nothing of importance is ſaid, or propoſed without *wampum*.— [C. T. ?]

[71] The *Indians*, having learned drunkenneſs of the white people, do not reckon it among the vices. They all, without exception, and without ſhame, practice it when they can get ſtrong liquor. It does not, among them, hurt the character of the greateſt warrior, the greateſt counſellor, or the modeſteſt matron. It is not ſo much an *offence*, as an *excuſe* for other ofences; the injuries they do each other in their drink being charged, not upon the man, but upon the rum.— [C. T. ?]

matters of war and peace, and the *Indians*, at *Allegheny*,[72] want to know, whether all the *Engliſh* governments will join in the peace with them; the way to obtain full ſatisfaction is to go to him, and there you will receive another great belt to carry home; which I deſire you ſeriouſly to take into conſideration. They then reſolved to go to *Harris's* ferry, and conſider about it as they went; — we arrived there late in the night.[73]

29th.— In the morning, the two *Cayugas* being moſt deſirous of going through the woods, the others continued irreſolute;[74] upon which I told them, "I wiſh you would go with good courage, and with hearty reſolution," and repeated what I had ſaid to them yeſterday, and reminded them, as they were meſſengers, they ſhould conſider what would be the beſt for their whole nation; "conſult among yourſelves, and let me know your true mind and determination;" and I informed them, I could not go with them, unleſs they would go to the general, as I had meſſages to deliver him. After which, having conſulted together, *Peſquitomen* came and gave me his hand, and ſaid, "Brother, here is my hand, we have all joined to go with you, and we put ourſelves under your protection to bring us ſafe through, and to ſecure us from all danger." We came that night to *Carliſle*[75] and found a

[72] The Ohio.— [C. T. ?]

[73] An Indian trader, John Harris, built a log house on the Susquehanna in 1705, and later established an inn and a ferry at the spot called Harris's Ferry, which was maintained for three-quarters of a century. His son laid out the present town of Harrisburg.— Ed.

[74] They were afraid of going where our people were all in arms, left ſome of the indiſcreet ſoldiers might kill them.— [C. T. ?]

[75] Carlisle, the seat of Cumberland County (erected in 1750), was originally settled by Scotch-Irish immigrants, who in the decade between 1720 and 1730 formed the "back settlements" of Pennsylvania. The Indian title was extinguished by a treaty in 1736; but when Fort Lowther was built at this site

ſmall houſe without the fort, for the *Indians* to be by themſelves, and hired a woman to dreſs their victuals, which pleaſed them well.

30th.— Setting out early, we came to *Shippenſburg*,[76] and were lodged in the fort, where the *Indians* had a houſe to themſelves.

31ſt.— Set out early; in our paſſing by *Chambers* Fort,[77] ſome of the *Iriſh* people, knowing ſome of the *Indians*, in a raſh manner exclaimed againſt them, and we had ſome difficulty to get them off clear. At fort *Loudon* we met about ſixteen of the *Cherokees*, who came in a friendly manner to our *Indians*, enquiring for *Bill Sockum*,[78] and ſhewed the pipe[79] they had received from

in 1753, there were but five houses in the place. Later it became the eastern terminus of the Pennsylvania highroad, and the centre of an extensive overland trade.— ED.

[76] The town of Shippensburg was one of the oldest west of the Susquehanna, having been laid out in 1749, by Edward Shippen — later chief-justice of Pennsylvania — on land of which he was proprietor. It was the site of two frontier forts — Franklin, built before Braddock's defeat; and Morris, erected after that disaster. Shippensburg became an important station on the Pennsylvania state road; and until the opening of the nineteenth century was the end of the stage-route from Lancaster westward.— ED.

[77] Chambers's Fort was a private stockade erected (1756) on the Conococheague Creek, by a Scotch-Irishman, Benjamin Chambers, who for some time had had a mill and settlement here. The fort was a large stone building, protected by cannon, and considered one of the strongest defenses in that region. The government attempted to take possession of the guns in 1757, lest they should be captured and turned against the other forts; but the Scotch-Irish settlers stoutly resisted this attempt, and it was abandoned. The present city of Chambersburg occupies the site.— ED.

[78] This should not be confused with the more famous Fort Loudoun, built the same year (1756) in Tennessee as a check upon the Cherokees. The Pennsylvania fort was on the road between Shippensburg and Fort Lyttleton, about a mile east of the present village of Loudon, Franklin County, being erected by Armstrong after Braddock's defeat. This was the scene of the plundering of the Indian goods, dispatched to the Ohio (1765) for Croghan's use on his journey to the Illinois.

The Cherokees were employed by the English as auxiliaries in this campaign. Their presence had caused much concern among the Northern Indians,

the *Shawaneſe*, and gave it, according to their cuſtom, to ſmoak out of, and ſaid, they hoped they were friends of the *Engliſh*. They knew me. *Peſquitomen* begged me to give him ſome *wampum*, that he might ſpeak to them: I gave him 400 white *wampum*, and he then ſaid to them:— "We formerly had friendſhip one with another; we are only meſſengers, and cannot ſay much, but by theſe ſtrings we let you know we are friends, and we are about ſettling a peace with the *Engliſh*, and wiſh to be at peace alſo with you, and all other *Indians*."— And informed them further, they came from a treaty, which was held at *Eaſton*, between the *Eight United Nations* and their confederates, and the *Engliſh*; in which peace was eſtabliſhed; and ſhewed them the two meſſengers from the *Five Nations*, who were going, with them, to make it known to all the *Indians* to the weſtward. Then the *Cherokees* anſwered and ſaid; "they ſhould be glad to know how far the friendſhip was to reach; they, for themſelves, wiſhed it might reach from the ſun-riſe to the ſun-ſet; for, as they were in friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, they would be at peace with all their friends, and at war with their enemies."

Nov. 1.— We reached fort *Littleton*,[80] in company with the *Cherokees*, and were lodged, in the fort; they, and our

and Post had been sent to Wyoming the previous spring, with reassuring messages on this account.

Bill Sock was a Conestoga Indian, employed as a messenger to the Six Nations. He was massacred in the Paxton affair (1763). See Heckeweldert *Narrative*, p. 79.— Ed.

[79] A calumet pipe; the ſignal of peace.—[C. T. ?]

[80] Fort Lyttleton was another of the chain of frontier posts built in 1756 for the protection of the frontiers. It was located at the place called by the Indian traders "Sugar Cabins," near the present McConnellsburg, Fulton County. A garrison was maintained at this point until after Pontiac's War, when it gradually fell into ruins, some relics of its occupation being still found in the locality.— Ed.

Indians, in diſtinct places; and they entertained each other with ſtories of their warlike adventures.

2d.— *Peſquitomen* ſaid to me, "you have led us this way, through the fire; if any miſchief ſhould befal us, we ſhall lay it entirely to you; for we think it was your doing, to bring us this way; you ſhould have told us at *Eaſton*, if it was neceſſary we ſhould go to the general."

I told him, "that I had informed the great men, at *Eaſton*, that I then thought it would be beſt not to let them go from thence, till they had ſeen the general's letter; and aſſured them that it was agreeable to the general's pleaſure."

3d.— *Peſquitomen* began to argue with captain *Bull* and Mr. *Hays*, upon the ſame ſubject, as they did with me, when I went to them with my firſt meſſage; which was, "that they should tell them, whether the general would claim the land as his own, when he ſhould drive the *French* away? or, whether the *Engliſh* thought to ſettle the country? We are always jealous the *Engliſh* will take the land from us. Look, brother, what makes you come with ſuch a large body of men, and make ſuch large roads into our country; we could drive away the *French* ourſelves, without your coming into our country."

Then I deſired captain *Bull* and Mr. *Hays* to be careful how they argued with the *Indians*; and be ſure to ſay nothing, that might affront them; for it may prove to our diſadvantage, when we come amongſt them. This day we came to *Rays-town*,[81] and with much diffi-

[81] Ray's town, so named from its first settler (1751), was the chief rendezvous for Forbes's army in this campaign, where he had the stronghold of Fort Bedford built, and whence he made his final advance against Fort Duquesne. From 1760-63, the fort at this place was commanded by Captain Lewis Ourry of the Royal Americans; and its apparent strength saved it from attack by the

culty got a place to lodge the *Indians* by themſelves, to their ſatisfaction.

4th.— We intended to ſet out, but our *Indians* told us, the *Cherokees* had deſired them to ſtay that day, as they intended to hold a council; and they deſired us to read over to them the governor's meſſage; which we accordingly did. *Peſquitomen*, finding *Jenny Frazer* there, who had been their priſoner, and eſcaped, ſpoke to her a little raſhly. Our *Indians*, waiting all the day, and the *Cherokees* not ſending to them, were diſpleaſed.

5th.— Roſe early, and, it raining ſmartly, we aſked our *Indians*, if they would go; which they took time to conſult about.

The *Cherokees* came and told them, the *Engliſh* had killed about thirty of their people, for taking ſome horſes, which they reſented much; and told our *Indians* they had better go home, than go any farther with us, leſt they ſhould meet with the ſame. On hearing this, I told them how I had heard it happened; upon which our *Indians* ſaid, they had behaved like fools, and brought the miſchief on themſelves.

Peſquitomen, before we went from hence, made it up with *Jenny Frazer*, and they parted good friends; and though it rained hard, we ſet out at 10 o'clock, and got to the foot of the *Alleghenny*, and lodged at the firſt run of water.

6th.— One of our horſes went back; we hunted a good while for him. Then we ſet off, and found one of the

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Indians of the conspiracy. Bouquet made it the rendezvous in his advance in 1764. Throughout the Indian wars, Fort Bedford was the most important station between Carlisle and Fort Pitt. The town of Bedford was incorporated in 1766.— Ed.

worſt roads that ever was travelled until *Stoney creek.*[82] Upon the road we overtook a great number of pack horſes; whereon *Peſquitomen* ſaid, "Brother, now you ſee, if you had not come to us before, this road would not be ſo ſafe as it is; now you ſee, we could have deſtroyed all this people on the road, and great miſchief would have been done, if you had not ſtopt, and drawn our people back."— We were informed that the general was not yet gone to fort *Duqueſne*, wherefore *Peſquitomen* ſaid, he was glad, and expreſſed, "If I can come to our towns before the general begins the attack, I know our people will draw back, and leave the *French.*"— We lodged this night at *Stoney creek.*

7th.— We aroſe early, and made all the haſte we could on our journey; we croſſed the large creek, *Rekempalin*; near *Lawrel hill.* Upon this hill we overtook the artillery, and came, before ſun ſet, to *Loyal Hanning.*[83] We were gladly received in the camp by the general, and moſt of the people. We made our fire near the other *Indian* camps; which pleaſed our people. Soon after ſome of the officers came, and ſpoke very raſhly to our *Indians*, in reſpect to their conduct to our people; at which they were much diſpleaſed, and anſwered as raſhly, and

[82] Post's testimony as to the condition of the new road cut for the army west from Fort Bedford is interesting. For an account of the controversy over the building of this road, see Hulbert, *Old Glade Road* (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 65-161.

Stony Creek flows northward through the valley between the Allegheny and Laurel Hill ranges of mountains.— ED.

[83] The creek called "Rekempalin," apparently was Pickings Run in Somerset County — not a large creek, but all streams were swollen by unusual rains.

Loyal Hanna was an old Indian town situated on the trail passing west to Shannopin's Town at the Forks of the Ohio. Upon the advance of Forbes's army (1758), this was made the last station on the road to Fort Duquesne, and a fort was built called Ligonier. Before the erection of this fort the station was known simply as the "Camp on Loyal Hanna."— ED.

ſaid, "they did not underſtand ſuch uſage; for they were come upon a meſſage of peace; if we had a mind to war, they knew how to help themſelves; and they were not afraid of us."

8th.— At eleven o'clock the genêral called the *Indians* together, the *Cherokees* and *Catawbas* being preſent; he ſpake to them in a kind and loving manner, and bid them heartily welcome to his camp, and expreſſed his joy to ſee them, and deſired them to give his compliments to all their kings and captains:— He deſired them that had any love for the *Engliſh* nation, to withdraw from the *French*; for if he ſhould find them among the *French*, he muſt treat them as enemies, as he ſhould advance with a large army very ſoon, and cannot wait longer on account of the winter ſeaſon. After that he drank the king's health, and all that wiſh well to the *Engliſh* nation; then he drank king *Beaver's*, *Shingas*; and all the warrior's healths, and recommended us (the meſſengers) to their care; and deſired them to give credit to what we ſhould ſay. After that we went to another houſe with the general alone; and he ſhewed them the belt, and ſaid, he would furniſh them with a writing, for both the belt and ſtring; and after a little diſcourſe more, our *Indians* parted in love, and well ſatisfied. And we made all neceſſary preparations for our journey.

9th.— Some of the colonels and chief commanders wondered how I came through ſo many difficulties, and how I could rule and bring theſe people to reaſon, making no uſe of gun or ſword. I told them, it is done by no other means than by faith. Then they aſked me, if I had faith to venture myſelf to come ſafe through with my companions. I told them, it was in my heart to pray for them, "you know that the Lord has given many promiſes

to his ſervants, and what he promiſes, you may depend upon, he will perform.''— Then they wiſhed us good ſucceſs. We waited till almoſt noon for the writing of the general. We were eſcorted by an hundred men, rank and file, commanded by captain *Haſelet*;[84] we paſſed through a tract of good land, about ſix miles on the old trading path, and came to the creek again, where there is a large fine bottom, well timbered; from thence we came upon a hill, to an advanced breaſt work, about ten miles from the camp, well ſituated for ſtrength, facing a ſmall branch of the aforeſaid creek; the hill is ſteep down, perpendicular about twenty feet, on the ſouth ſide; which is a great defence; and on the weſt ſide the breaſt-work about ſeven feet high, where we encamped that night:[85] our *Indian* companions heard that we were to part in the morning, and that twelve men were to be ſent with us, and the others, part of the company, to go towards fort *Duqueſne*. Our *Indians* deſired that the captain would ſend twenty men, inſtead of twelve; that if any accident ſhould happen, they could be more able to defend themſelves in returning back; ''for we know, ſay they, the enemy will follow the ſmalleſt party.'' It began to rain. Within five miles from the breaſt-work we departed from captain *Haſelet*; he kept the old trading path to the *Ohio*. Lieutenant *Hays*[86]

[84] Captain John Haslett was an officer of the Pennsylvania provincial troops, of which there was in Forbes's army, a contingent of two thousand and seven hundred. Probably this was the same officer who commanded Delaware troops in the Revolution, and after conspicuous bravery at Long Island was killed in the battle of Princeton.— ED.

[85] The camping-place for this night, at the advanced breast-work, is identified as on the Nine Mile Run, in Unity Township, Westmoreland County, being still locally known as "Breast-work Hill."— ED.

[86] Lieutenant William Hays, who was later killed on his return from escorting Post, belonged to the Royal Americans, having been commissioned December 11, 1756.— ED.

was ordered to accompany us to the *Alleghenny* river[87] with fourteen men. We went the path that leads along the *Loyal Hanning* creek, where there is a rich fine bottom, land well timbered, good ſprings and ſmall creeks. At four o'clock we were alarmed by three men, in *Indian* dreſs; and preparation was made on both ſides for defence. *Iſaac Still* ſhewed a white token, and *Peſquitomen* gave an *Indian halloo*; after which they threw down their bundles, and ran away as faſt as they could. We afterwards took up their bundles, and found that it was a ſmall party of our men, that had been long out. We were ſorry that we had ſcared them; for they loſt their bundles with all their food. Then, I held a conference with our *Indians*, and aſked them, if it would not be good, to ſend one of our *Indians* to *Logſtown* and *fort Duqueſne*, and call the *Indians* from thence, before we arrive at *Kuſhkuſhking*. They all agreed it would not be good, as they were but meſſengers; it muſt be done by their chief men. The wolves made a terrible muſic this night.

11th.— We ſtarted early, and came to the old *Shawaneſe* town, called *Keckkeknepolin*,[88] grown up thick with weeds, briars and buſhes, that we ſcarcely could get through. *Peſquitomen* led us upon a ſteep hill, that our horſes could hardly get up; and *Thomas Hickman's* horſe ſtumbled, and rolled down the hill like a wheel; on which he grew angry, and would go no further with us, and ſaid, he would go by himſelf: It happened we found

[87] The Ohio, as it is called by the Sennecas. Alleghenny is the name of the ſame river in the Delaware language. Both words ſignify the fine, or fair river.— [C. T. ?]

[88] The Indian town which Post calls Keckkeknepolin was usually known as Blackleg's Town, being situated at the mouth of Loyalhanna Creek, where it flows into the Kiskiminitas.— Ed.

a path on the top of the hill. At three o'clock we came to *Kiſkemeneco*, an old *Indian* town, a rich bottom, well timbered, good fine *Engliſh* graſs, well watered, and lays waſte ſince the war began.[89] We let our horſes feed here, and agreed that lieutenant *Hays* might go back with his party; and as they were ſhort of proviſions, we, therefore, gave them a little of ours, which they took very kind of us. *Thomas Hickman* could find no other road, and came to us again a little aſhamed; we were glad to ſee him; and we went about three miles farther, where we made a large fire. Here the *Indians* looked over their preſents, and grumbled at me; they thought, if they had gone the other way by *Shamokin*, they would have got more. Captain Bull ſpoke in their favour againſt me. Then I ſaid to them, "I am aſhamed to ſee you grumble about preſents; I thought you were ſent to eſtabliſh a peace." Though I confeſs I was not pleaſed that the *Indians* were ſo ſlightly fitted out from *Eaſton*, as the general had nothing to give them, in the critical circumſtances he was in, fit for their purpoſe.

12th.— Early in the morning, I ſpoke to the *Indians* of my company, "Brethren, you have now paſſed through the heart of the country back and forward, likewiſe through the midſt of the army, without any difficulty or danger; you have ſeen and heard a great deal. When I was among you, at *Alleghenny*, you told me, I ſhould not regard what the common people would ſay, but only hearken to the chiefs; I ſhould take no bad ſtories along. I did accordingly; and when I left *Alleghenny* I dropt all

[89] Heckewelder says that the word "Kiskiminitas" means "make daylight," and was due to the impatient exclamation of some eager warrior encamped on the spot. The town here mentioned was in Armstrong County, on a creek of the same name, about seven miles from where it flows into the Allegheny River.— Ed.

evil reports, and only carried the agreeable news, which was pleaſing to all that heard it. Now, brethren, I beg of you to do the ſame, and to drop all evil reports, which you may have heard of bad people, and only to obſerve and keep what you have heard of our rulers, and the wiſe people, ſo that all your young men, women and children, may rejoice at our coming to them, and may have the benefit of it.''

They took it very kindly. After awhile they ſpoke in the following manner to us, and ſaid, ''Brethren, when you come to *Kuſhkuſhking*, you muſt not mind the priſoners, and have nothing to do with them. Mr. *Poſt*, when he was firſt there, liſtened too much to the priſoners; the *Indians* were almoſt mad with him for it, and would have confined him for it; for, they ſaid, he had wrote ſomething of them.''

As we were hunting for our horſes, we found *Thomas Hickman's* horſe dead, which rolled yeſterday down the hill. At one o'clock we came to the *Alleghenny*, to an old *Shawano* town, ſituated under a high hill on the eaſt, oppoſite an iſland of about one hundred acres, very rich land, well timbered.[90] We looked for a place to croſs the river, but in vain; we then went ſmartly to work, and made a raft; we cut the wood, and carried it to the water ſide, The wolves and owls made a great noiſe in the night.

13th.— We got up early, and boiled ſome chocolate

[90] When he parted from Captain Haslett, Post left the regular westward Indian trail to the Forks of the Ohio. In order to avoid Fort Duquesne, and to reach the Indian towns beyond the Allegheny, he followed a northward branch of the same that led down the Loyalhanna and Kiskiminitas creeks. The Indian town at the mouth of Kiskiminitas Creek had always been insignificant, lying between Kittanning on the north, and Shannopin's Town on the south.— Ed

for breakfaſt, and then began to finiſh our rafts; we cloathed ourſelves as well as we could in *Indian* dreſs; it was about two o'clock in the afternoon, before we all got over to the other ſide, near an old *Indian* town. The *Indians* told us, we ſhould not call Mr. *Bull*, *captain*, their young men would be mad that we brought a warrior there. We went up a ſteep hill, good land, to the creek *Cowewanick*,[91] where we made our fire. They wanted to hunt for meat, and looked for a road. Captain *Bull* ſhot a ſquirrel, and broke his gun. I cut fire wood, and boiled ſome chocolate for ſupper. The others came home, and brought nothing. *Peſquitomen* wanted to hear the writing from the general, which we read to them, to their great ſatiſfaction. This was the firſt night we ſlept in the open air. Mr. *Bull* took the tent along with him. We diſcourſed a good deal of the night together.

14th.— We roſe early, and thought to make good progreſs on our way. At one o'clock *Thomas Hickman* ſhot a large buck; and, as our people were hungry for meat, we made our camp there, and called the water *Buck run*. In the evening we heard the great guns fire from *fort Duqueſne*. Whenever I looked towards that place, I felt a diſmal impreſſion, the very place ſeemed ſhocking and dark. *Peſquitomen* looked his things over, and found a white belt, ſent by the commiſſioners of trade,[92] for the *Indian* affairs. We could find no writing concerning the belt, and did not know what was the ſignification thereof: They ſeemed much concerned to know it.

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[91] Connequenessing Creek, whose name, according to Heckewelder, signifies "a long straight course."— ED.

[92] Perſons appointed by law to manage the *Indian* trade, for the public; the private trade, on account of its abuſes, being aboliſhed.— [C. T. ?]

15th.— We aroſe early, and had a good day's journey: we paſſed theſe two days through thick buſhes of briars and thorns; ſo that it was very difficult to get through. We croſſed the creek *Paquakonink*; the land is very indifferent. At twelve o'clock we croſſed the road from *Venango* to *fort Duqueſne*. We went weſt towards *Kuſhkuſhking*, about ſixteen miles from the fort. We went over a large barren plain, and made our lodging by a little run. *Peſquitomen* told us, we muſt ſend a meſſenger, to let them know of our coming, as the *French* live amongſt them; he deſired a ſtring of wampum; I gave him three hundred and fifty. We concluded to go within three miles of *Kuſhkuſhking*, to their ſugar cabbins,[93] and to call their chiefs there. In diſcourſe, Mr. Bull told the *Indians*, the *Engliſh* ſhould let all the priſoners ſtay amongſt them, that liked to ſtay.

16th.— We met two *Indians* on the road, and ſat down with them to dinner. They informed us that no body was at home, at *Kuſhkuſhking*; that one hundred and ſixty, from that town, were gone to war againſt our party. We croſſed the above mentioned creek; good land, but hilly. Went down a long valley to *Beaver* creek, through old *Kuſhkuſhking*,[94] a large ſpot of land, about three miles long; they both went with us to the town; one of them rode before us, to let the people in the town know of our coming; we found there but two men, and ſome women. Thoſe, that were at home, received us kindly.

[93] Where they boil into ſugar the juice of a tree that grows in thoſe rich lands.— [C. T. ?]

[94] Irvine says (*Pennsylvania Archives*, xi, p. 518) that the Indians termed all the land along Beaver and Mahoning creeks for twenty-five miles, Kuskuskies. Old Kuskusking was located between the mouths of Neshanock and Mahoning creeks on the Shenango, about where the town of New Castle, Lawrence County, now stands.— Ed.

Peſquitomen deſired us to read the meſſage to them that were there.

17th.— There were five *Frenchmen* in the town; the reſt were gone to war. We held a council with *Delaware George*, delivered him the ſtring and preſents, that were ſent to him; and informed him of the general's ſentiments, and what he deſired of them; upon which he agreed, and complied to go with Mr. *Bull*, to the general. Towards night *Keckkènepalin* came home from the war, and told us the diſagreeable news, that they had fallen in with that party, that had guided us; they had killed Lieutenant *Hays*, and four more, and took five priſoners, the others got clear off. They had a ſkirmiſh with them within twelve miles of *fort Duqueſne*. Further he told us, that one of the captives was to be burnt, which grieved us. By the priſoners they were informed of our arrival; on which they concluded to leave the *French*, and to hear what news we brought them. In the evening they brought a priſoner to town. We called the *Indians* together, that were at home, and explained the matter to them, and told them, as their own people had deſired the general to give them a guide to conduct them ſafe home and by a misfortune, your people have fallen in with this party, and killed five and taken five priſoners; and we are now informed that one of them is to be burnt; "Conſider, my brethren, if you ſhould give us a guide, to bring us ſafe on our way home, and our parties ſhould fall in with you, how hard you would take it."

They ſaid, "Brother, it is a hard matter, and we are ſorry it hath happened ſo." I anſwered, "Let us therefore ſpare no pains to relieve them from any cruelty." We could ſcarce find a meſſenger, that would undertake to go to *Sawcung*, where the priſoner was to be bu[r]nt.

We promiſed to one named *Compaſs*, 500 black wampum, and Mr. *Hays* gave him a ſhirt and a dollar, on which he promiſed to go. We ſent him as a meſſenger, By a ſtring of wampum I ſpoke theſe words, "Brethren, conſider the meſſengers are come home with good news, and three of your brethren, the *Engliſh*, with them. We deſire you would pity your own young men, women and children, and uſe no hardſhips towards the captives, as having been guiding our party."

Afterwards the warriors informed us, that their deſign had not been to go to war, but that they had a mind to go to the general and ſpeak with him; and on the road the *French* made a diviſion among them, that they could not agree; after which they were diſcovered by the *Cherokees* and *Catawbas*, who fled, and left their bundles, where they found an *Engliſh* colour. So *Kekeuſcung* told them he would go before them to the general, if they would follow him; but they would not agree to it; and the *French* perſuaded them to fall upon the *Engliſh* at *Loyal-hanning*;[95] they accordingly did, and as they were driven back, they fell in with that party, that guided us, which they did not know. They ſeemed very ſorry for it.

18th.— Captain *Bull* acted as commander, without letting us know any thing, or communicating with us. He and *George* relieved a priſoner from the warriors, by what means I do not know. When the warriors were

[95] Kekeuscung's name signified "the healer." He was accounted a great warrior, and often joined the Six Nations against the Cherokees. The traditional hostility between the latter Indians and those around the Allegheny rendered difficult the attempt to conciliate the Delawares while the Cherokees were in the English army.

The attack here mentioned on the English camp at Loyalhanna, was repulsed by Colonel Mercer and the Virginian troops. On their return they fired by mistake upon their own re-enforcements, and nearly killed their leader, Washington.— Ed.

met, he then called us firſt to ſit down, and to hear what they had to ſay. The *Indian* that delivered the priſoner to *Bull* and *George*, ſpoke as follows:

"My brethren, the *Engliſh* are at ſuch a diſtance from us, as if they were under ground, that I cannot hear them. I am very glad to hear from you ſuch good news; and I am very ſorry that it happened ſo, that I went to war. Now I let the general know, he ſhould conſider his young men, and if you ſhould have any of us, to ſet them at liberty, ſo as we do to you.

Then *Peſquitomen* ſaid, "As the Governor gave theſe three meſſengers into my boſom, ſo I now likewiſe, by this ſtring of wampum, give *Bull* into *Delaware George's* boſom, to bring him ſafe to the general." Mr. *Bull* ſat down with the priſoner, who gave him ſome intelligence in writing; at which the *Indians* grew very jealous and aſked them what they had to write there? I wrote a letter to the general by Mr. *Bull*. In the afternoon Mr. *Bull*, *Delaware George*, and *Keſkenepalen* ſet out for the camp. Towards night they brought in another priſoner. When Mr. *Bull* and company were gone, the *Indians* took the ſame priſoner, whom Mr. *Bull* had relieved, and bound him and carried him to another town, without our knowledge. I a thouſand times wiſhed Mr. *Bull* had never meddled in the affair, fearing they would exceedingly puniſh, and bring the priſoner to confeſſion of the contents of the writing.

19th.— A great many of the warriors came home. The *French* had infuſed bad notions into the *Indians*, by means of the letters, they found upon Lieutenant *Hays*, who was killed, which they falſely interpreted to them, viz. That, in one letter it was wrote, that the general ſhould do all that was in his power to conquer the *French*,

and, in the mean time the meſſengers to the *Indians* ſhould do their utmoſt to draw the Indians back, and keep them together in conferences, till he, the general, had made a conqueſt of the *French*, and afterwards he ſhould fall upon all *Indians*, and deſtroy them. And, that, if we ſhould loſe our lives, the *Engliſh* would carry on the war, ſo long as an *Indian*, or *Frenchman* was alive. Thereupon the French ſaid to the Indians;

"Now you can ſee, my children, how the *Engliſh* want to deceive you, and if it would not offend you, I would go and knock theſe meſſengers on the head, before you ſhould be deceived by them." One of the *Indian* captains ſpoke to the *French* and ſaid, "To be ſure it would offend us, if you ſhould offer to knock them on the head. If you have a mind to go to war, go to the *Engliſh* army, and knock them on the head, and not theſe three men, that come with a meſſage to us."

After this ſpeech the *Indians* went all off, and left the *French*. Nevertheleſs it had enraged ſome of the young people, and made them ſuſpicious; ſo that it was a precarious time for us. I ſaid, "Brethren, have good courage, and be ſtrong; let not every wind diſturb your mind; let the *French* bring the letter here; for, as you cannot read, they may tell you thouſands of falſe ſtories. We will read the letter to you. As *Iſaac Still*[96] can read, he will tell you the truth.

After this all the young men were gathered together, *Iſaac Still* being in company. The young men ſaid, "One that had but half an eye could ſee that the *Engliſh* only intended to cheat them; and that it was beſt to knock every one of us meſſengers on the head."

[96] An *Indian* with an *Engliſh* name. An *Indian* ſometimes changes his name with an *Engliſhman* he reſpects; it is a ſeal of friendſhip, and creates a kind of relation between them.—[C. T. ?]

Then *Iſaac* began to ſpeak and ſaid, "I am aſhamed to hear ſuch talking from you; you are but boys like me; you ſhould not talk of ſuch a thing. There have been thirteen nations at *Eaſton*, where they have eſtabliſhed a firm peace with the *Engliſh*; and I have heard that the Five Nations were always called the wiſeſt; go tell them that they are fools, and cannot ſee; and tell them that you are kings, and wiſe men. Go and tell the *Cayuga* chiefs ſo, that are here; and you will become great men." Afterwards they were all ſtill, and ſaid not one word more.

20th.— There came a great many more together in the town, and brought *Henry Oſten*, the ſergeant, who was to have been burnt. They hallooed the war halloo; and the men and women beat him till he came into the houſe.[97] It is a grievous and melancholy ſight to ſee our fellow mortals ſo abuſed. *Iſaac Still* had a long diſcourse with the *French* captain; who made himſelf great, by telling how he had fought the *Engliſh* at *Loyal-Hanning*. *Iſaac* rallied him, and ſaid he had ſeen them ſcalp horſes, and take others for food. The firſt he denied, but the ſecond he owned. *Iſaac* ran the captain quite down, before them all. The *French* captain ſpoke with the two *Cayugas*; at laſt the *Cayugas* ſpoke very ſharp to him, ſo that he grew pale, and was quite ſilent.

Theſe three days paſt was precarious time for us. We were warned not to go far from the houſe; becauſe the people who came from the ſlaughter, having been driven back, were poſſeſſed with a murdering ſpirit; which led them as in a halter, in which they were catched, and with bloody vengeance were thirſty and drunk. This

[97] When a priſoner is brought to an *Indian* town, he runs a kind of gauntlet thro' the mob; and every one, even the children, endeavour to have a ſtroke at him; but as ſoon as he can get into any of their huts, he is under protection, and refreſhments are adminiſtered to him.—[C. T. ?]

afforded a melancholy proſpect. *Iſaac Still* was himſelf dubious of our lives. We did not let Mr. *Hays* know of the danger. I ſaid, "As God hath ſtopped the mouth of the lions, that they could not devour *Daniel*, ſo he will preſerve us from their fury, and bring us through." I had a diſcourſe with Mr. *Hays* concerning our meſſage, and begged him he would pray to God for grace and wiſdom, that he would grant us peace among this people. We will remain in ſtillneſs, and not look to our own credit. We are in the ſervice of our king and country. This people are rebellious in heart.

Now we are here to reconcile them again to the General, Governor, and the *Engliſh* nation; to turn them again from their errors. And I wiſhed that God would grant us his grace, whereby we may do it; which I hope and believe he will do. Mr. *Hays* took it to heart and was convinced of all; which much rejoiced me. I begged *Iſaac Still* to watch over himſelf and not to be diſcouraged; for I hoped the ſtorm would ſoon paſs by.

In the afternoon all the captains gathered together in the middle town; they ſent for us, and deſired we ſhould give them information of our meſſage. Accordingly we did. We read the meſſage with great ſatisfaction to them. It was a great pleaſure both to them and us. The number of captains and counſellors were ſixteen. In the evening meſſengers arrived from *fort Duqueſne*, with a ſtring of wampum from the commander; upon which they all came together in the houſe where we lodged. The meſſengers delivered their ſtring, with theſe words from their father, the *French* King:

"My children, come to me, and hear what I have to ſay. The *Engliſh* are coming with an army to deſtroy both you and me. I therefore deſire you immediately,

my children, to haſten with all the young men; we will drive the *Engliſh* and deſtroy them. I, as a father, will tell you always what is beſt.'' He laid the ſtring before one of the captains. After a little converſation, the captain ſtood up and ſaid; ''I have juſt heard ſomething of our brethren the *Engliſh*, which pleaſeth me much better. I will not go. Give it to the others, may be they will go.'' The meſſenger took up again the ſtring and ſaid, ''He won't go, he has heard of the *Engliſh*.''[98] Then all cried out, ''yes, yes, we have heard from the *Engliſh*.'' He then threw the ſtring to the other fire place, where the other captains were; but they kicked it from one to another, as if it was a ſnake. Captain *Peter* took a ſtick, and with it flung the ſtring from one end of the room to the other,[99] and ſaid, ''Give it to the *French* captain, and let him go with his young men; he boaſted much of his fighting; now let us ſee his fighting. We have often ventured our lives for him; and had hardly a loaf of bread, when we came to him; and now he thinks we ſhould jump to ſerve him.'' Then we ſaw the *French* captain mortified to the uttermoſt; he looked as pale as death. The Indians diſcourſed and joked till midnight; and the *French* captain ſent meſſengers at midnight to *fort Duqueſne*.

21ſt.— We were informed that the general was within twenty miles of *fort Duqueſne*. As the *Indians* were afraid the *Engliſh* would come over the river *Ohio*, I ſpoke with ſome of the captains, and told them that, ''I ſuppoſed the general intended to ſurround the *French*,

[98] *i. e.* He has liſtened to the *Engliſh* meſſengers.— [C. T. ?]

[99] Kicking the ſtring about, and throwing it with a ſtick, not touching it with their hands, were marks of diſlike of the meſſage, that accompanied it. —[C. T. ?]

and therefore muſt come to this ſide the river; but we aſſure you that he will not come to your towns to hurt you.'' I begged them to let the *Shawaneſe* at *Logſtown*, know it, and gave them four ſtrings of 300 wampum, with this meſſage; ''Brethren, we are arrived with good news, waiting for you; we deſire you to be ſtrong, and remember the ancient friendſhip your grandfathers had with the *Engliſh*. We wiſh you would remember it, and pity your young men, women and children, and keep away from the *French*; and if the *Engliſh* ſhould come to ſurround the *French*, be not afraid. We aſſure you they won't hurt you.''

22d.— *Kittiuſkund* came home, and ſent for us, being very glad to ſee us. He informed us, the general was within fifteen miles of the *French fort*; that the *French* had uncovered their houſes, and laid the roofs round the fort to ſet it on fire, and made ready to go off, and would demoliſh the fort, and let the *Engliſh* have the bare ground; ſaying; ''they are not able to build a ſtrong fort this winter; and we will be early enough in the ſpring to deſtroy them. We will come with ſeventeen nations of *Indians*, and a great many *French*, and build a ſtone fort.

The Indians danced round the fire till midnight, for joy of their brethren, the *Engliſh*, coming. There went ſome ſcouting parties towards the army. Some of the captains told me, that *Shamokin Daniel*, who came with me in my former journey, had fairly ſold me to the *French*; and the *French* had been very much diſpleaſed that the *Indians* had brought me away.

23d.— The *liar* raiſed a ſtory, as if the *Engliſh* were divided into three bodies, to come on this ſide the river. They told us the *Cayugas*, that came with us, had ſaid

ſo. We told the *Cayugas* of it; on which they called the other *Indians* together; denied that they ever ſaid ſo; and ſaid, they were ſent to this place from the *Five Nations*, to tell them to do their beſt endeavors to ſend the *French* off from this country; and when that was done they would go and tell the general to go back over the mountains.

I ſee the *Indians* concern themſelves very much about the affair of land; and are continually jealous, and afraid the *Engliſh* will take their land. I told them to be ſtill and content themſelves, "for there are ſome chiefs of the *Five Nations* with the army; they will ſettle the affair, as they are the chief owners of the land; and it will be well for you to come and ſpeak with the general yourſelves."

Iſaac Still aſked the *French* captain, whether it was true, that *Daniel* had ſold me to the *French*? He owned it, and ſaid, I was theirs, they had bought me fairly; and, if the *Indians* would give them leave, he would take me.

24th.— We hanged out the *Engliſh* flag, in ſpite of the *French*; on which our priſoners folded their hands, in hopes that their redemption was nigh, looking up to God, which melted my heart in tears, and prayers to God, to hear their prayers, and change the times, and the ſituation, which our priſoners are in, and under which they groan. "O Lord, ſaid they, when will our redemption come, that we ſhall be delivered, and return home?" — And if any accident happeneth, which the *Indians* diſlike, the priſoners all tremble with fear, ſaying, "Lord, what will become of us, and what will be the end of our lives?" So that they often wiſh themſelves rather under the ground, than in this life. King Beaver came home, and called us to his houſe, and ſaluted us in a friendly

manner; which we, in like manner, did to him. Afterwards I ſpoke by four ſtrings of 350 wampum, and ſaid, as followeth:

"I have a ſalutation to you, and all your people, from the general, the governor, and many other gentlemen. Brother, it pleaſes me that the day is come to ſee you and your people. We have warmed ourſelves by your fire, and waited for you, and thank you, that you did come home. We have good news of great importance; which we hope will make you, and all your people's hearts glad. By theſe ſtrings I deſire you would be pleaſed to call all your kings and captains, from all the towns and nations; ſo that they all may hear us, and have the benefit thereof, while they live, and their children after them."

Then he ſaid, "As ſoon as I heard of your coming, I roſe up directly to come to you." Then there came another meſſage, which called me to another place, where ſix kings of ſix nations were met together. I ſent them word, they ſhould ſit together a while, and ſmoke their pipes, and I would come to them. King Beaver ſaid further,

"Brother, it pleaſeth me to hear that you brought ſuch good news; and my heart rejoices already at what you ſaid to me. It rejoices me that I have now heard of you." I ſaid, "Brother, you did well, that you firſt came here, before you went to the kings; as the good news we brought is to all nations, from the riſing of the ſun to the going down of the ſame; that want to be in peace and friendſhip with the *Engliſh*. So it will give them ſatisfaction, when they hear it." The *French* captain told us, that they would demoliſh the fort; and he thought the *Engliſh* would be to-day at the place.

25th.—*Shingas* came home, and ſaluted us in a

friendly manner, and ſo did *Beaver*, in our houſe; and then they told us, they would hear our meſſage; and we perceived that the *French* captain had an inclination to hear it. We called *Beaver* and *Shingas*, and informed them, that all the nations, at *Eaſton*, had agreed with the governor, that every thing ſhould be kept ſecret from the ears and eyes of the *French*. He ſaid, "it was no matter, they were beaten already. It is good news, and if he would ſay any thing, we would tell him what friendſhip we have together." Accordingly they met together, and the *French* captain was preſent. The number conſiſted of about fifty.

King *Beaver* firſt ſpoke to his men, "Hearken, all you captains and warriors, here are our brethren, the *Engliſh*; I wiſh that you may give attention, and take notice of what they ſay. As it is for our good, that there may an everlaſting peace be eſtabliſhed, although there is a great deal of miſchief done, if it pleaſeth God to help us, we may live in peace again."

Then I began to ſpeak by four ſtrings to them, and ſaid,

"Brethren, being come here to ſee you, I perceive your bodies are all ſtained with blood, and obſerve tears and ſorrows in your eyes: With this ſtring I clean your body from blood, and wipe and anoint your eyes with the healing oil, ſo that you may ſee your brethren clearly. And as ſo many ſtorms have blown ſince we laſt ſaw one another, and we are at ſuch a diſtance from you, that you could not rightly hear us as yet, I, by this ſtring, take a ſoft feather, and with that good oil, our grandfathers uſed, open and clear your ears, ſo that you may both hear and underſtand what your brethren have to ſay to you. And by theſe ſtrings I clear your throat from the

duſt, and take all the bitterneſs out of your heart, and clear the paſſage from the heart to the throat, that you may ſpeak freely with your brethren, the *Engliſh*, from the heart."

Then *Iſaac Still* gave the pipe, ſent by the *Friends*,[100] filled with tobacco, and handed round, after their cuſtom, and ſaid:

"Brethren, here is the pipe, which your grandfathers uſed to ſmoke with, when they met together in councils of peace. And here is ſome of that good tobacco, prepared for our grandfathers from God:— When you ſhall taſte of it, you ſhall feel it through all your body; and it will put you in remembrance of the good councils, your grandfathers uſed to hold with the *Engliſh*, your brethren, and that ancient friendſhip, thay had together."

King *Beaver* roſe, and thanked us firſt, that we had cleared his body from the blood, and wiped the tears and ſorrow from his eyes, and opened his ears, ſo that now he could well hear and underſtand. Likewiſe he returned thanks for the *pipe and tobacco*, that we brought, which our grandfathers uſed to ſmoke. He ſaid,— "When I taſted that good tobacco, I felt it all through my body, and it made me all over well."

Then we delivered the meſſages, as followeth:

Governor *Denny's* anſwer to the meſſage of the *Ohio Indians*, brought by *Frederick Poſt*, *Peſquitomen* and *Thomas Hickman*.

"By this ſtring, my *Indian* brethren of the United Nations and *Delawares*, join with me, in requiring of the *Indian* councils, to which theſe following meſſages

[100] The *Quakers* of *Philadelphia*, who firſt ſet on foot theſe negociations of peace; and for whom the *Indians* have always had a great regard.—[C. T. ?]

Comment by Ed. See on this subject *Pennsylvania Archives*, iii, p. 581.

ſhall be preſented, to keep every thing private from the eyes and ears of the *French*." A ſtring.

"Brethren, we received your meſſage by *Peſquitomen* and *Frederick Poſt*, and thank you for the care you have taken of our meſſenger of peace, and that you have put him in your boſom, and protected him againſt our enemy, *Onontio*, and his children, and ſent him ſafe back to our council fire, by the ſame man, that received him from us." A ſtring.

"Brethren, I only ſent *Poſt* to peep into your cabbins, and to know the ſentiments of your old men, and to look at your faces, to ſee how you look. And I am glad to hear from him, that you look friendly; and that there ſtill remain ſome ſparks of love towards us. It was what we believed before hand, and therefore we never let ſlip the chain of friendſhip, but held it faſt, on our ſide, and it has never dropt out of our hands. By this belt we deſire that you will dig up your end of the chain of friendſhip, that you ſuffered, by the ſubtlety of the *French*, to be buried." A belt.

"Brethren, it happened that the governor of *Jerſey* was with me, and a great many *Indian* brethren, ſitting in council at *Eaſton*, when your meſſengers arrived; and it gave pleaſure to every one that heard it; and it will afford the ſame ſatisfaction to our neighboring governors, and their people, when they come to hear it. I ſhall ſend meſſengers to them, and acquaint them with what you have ſaid.

"Your requeſting us to let the king of *England* know your good diſpoſitions we took to heart, and ſhall let him know it; and we will ſpeak in your favor to his majeſty, who has, for ſome time paſt, looked upon you as his loſt children. And we can aſſure you, that, as

a tender father over all his children, he will forgive what is paſt, and receive you again into his arms.'' A belt.

''Brethren, if you are in earneſt to be reconciled to us, you will keep your young men from attacking our country and killing and carrying captive our back inhabitants; And will likewiſe give orders, that your people may be kept at a diſtance from *Fort Duqueſne*; that they may not be hurt by our warriors, who are ſent by our king to chaſtiſe the *French*, and not to hurt you. Conſider the commanding officer of that army treads heavy, and would be very ſorry to hurt any of his *Indian* brethren.'' A large belt.

''And brethren, the chiefs of the *United Nations*, with their couſins, our brethren, the *Delawares*, and others now here, jointly with me ſend this belt, which has upon it two figures, that repreſent all the *Engliſh*, and all the *Indians*, now preſent, taking hands, and delivering it to *Peſquitomen*: and we deſire it may be likewiſe ſent to the *Indians*, who are named at the end of theſe meſſages;[101] as they have all been formerly our very good friends and allies; and we deſire they will all go from among the *French* to their own towns, and no longer help the *French*.''

''*Brethren on the Ohio*, if you take the belts we juſt now gave you, in which all here join, *Engliſh* and *Indians*, as we do not doubt you will; then, by this belt, I make a road for you, and invite you to come to *Philadelphia*, to your firſt old council fire, which was kindled when we firſt ſaw one another; which fire we will kindle up again, and remove all diſputes, and renew the old and firſt treaties

[101] "Saſtaghretſy, Anigh Kalicken, Atowateany, Towigh, Towighroano, Geghdageghroano, Oyaghtanont, Siſaghroano, Stiaggeghroano, Jenontadynago."—[C. T. ?]

of friendſhip. This is a clear and open road for you; fear, therefore, nothing, and come to us with as many as can be of the *Delawares*, *Shawaneſe*, or of the *Six Nations*: We will be glad to ſee you; we deſire all tribes and nations of *Indians*, who are in alliance with you, may come. As ſoon as we hear of your coming, of which you will give us timely notice, we will lay up proviſions for you along the road.''

A large white belt, with the figure of a man, at each end, and ſtreaks of black, repreſenting the road from the *Ohio* to *Philadelphia*.

''Brethren, the *Six Nation* and *Delaware* chiefs join with me in thoſe belts, which are tied together, to ſignify our union and friendſhip for each other; with them we jointly take the *tomahawks* out of your hands, and bury them under ground.

''We ſpeak aloud, ſo as you may hear us; you ſee we all ſtand together, joined hand in hand.'' Two belts tied together.

''General *Forbes* to the *Shawaneſe*, and *Delawares*, on the *Ohio*.

''Brethren, I embrace this opportunity by our brother, *Peſquitomen*, who is now on his return home with ſome of your uncles, of the *Six Nations*, from the treaty of *Eaſton*, of giving you joy of the happy concluſion of that great council, which is perfectly agreeable to me; as it is for the mutual advantage of our brethren, the *Indians*, as well as the *Engliſh* nation.

''I am glad to find that all paſt diſputes and animoſities are now finally ſettled, and amicably adjuſted; and I hope they will be for ever buried in oblivion, and that you will now again be firmly united in the intereſt of your brethren, the *Engliſh*.''

"As I am now advancing, at the head of a large army, againſt his majeſty's enemies, the *French*, on the *Ohio*, I muſt ſtrongly recommend to you to ſend immediate notice to any of your people, who may be at the *French* fort, to return forthwith to your towns; where you may ſit by your fires, with your wives and children, quiet and undiſturbed, and ſmoke your pipes in ſafety. Let the *French* fight their own battles, as they were the firſt cauſe of the war, and the occaſion of the long difference, which hath ſubſiſted between you and your brethren, the *Engliſh*; but I muſt entreat you to reſtrain your young men from croſſing the *Ohio*, as it will be impoſſible for me to diſtinguiſh them from our enemies; which I expect you will comply with, without delay; leſt, by your neglect thereof, I ſhould be the innocent cauſe of ſome of our brethren's death. This advice take and keep in your own breaſts, and ſuffer it not to reach the ears of the *French*.

"As a proof of the truth and ſincerity of what I ſay, and to confirm the tender regard I have for the lives and welfare of our brethren, on the *Ohio*, I ſend you this ſtring of wampum.

"I am, brethren and warriors,

"Your friend and brother,

"JOHN FORBES."

"Brethren, kings *Beaver* and *Shingas*, and all the warriors, who join with you:

"The many acts of hoſtility, committed by the *French* againſt the *Britiſh* ſubjects, made it neceſſary for the king to take up arms, in their defence, and to redreſs their wrongs, which have been done them; heaven hath favoured the juſtice of the cauſe, and given ſucceſs to his fleets and armies, in different parts of the world. I

have received his commands, with regard to what is to be done on the *Ohio*, and ſhall endeavour to act like a ſoldier by driving the *French* from thence, or deſtroying them.

"It is a particular pleaſure to me to learn, that the *Indians*, who inhabit near that river, have lately concluded a treaty of peace with the *Engliſh*; by which the ancient friendſhip is renewed with their brethren, and fixed on a firmer foundation than ever. May it be laſting and unmoveable as the mountains. I make no doubt but it gives you equal ſatisfaction, and that you will unite your endeavours with mine, and all the governors of theſe provinces, to ſtrengthen it: The clouds, that, for ſome time, hung over the *Engliſh*, and their friends, the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, and kept them both in darkneſs, are now diſperſed, and the chearful light now again ſhines upon us, and warms us both. May it continue to do ſo, while the ſun and moon give light.

"Your people, who were ſent to us, were received by us with open arms; they were kindly entertained, while they were here; and I have taken care that they ſhall return ſafe to you; with them come truſty meſſengers, whom I earneſtly recommend to your protection; they have ſeveral matters in charge; and I deſire you may give credit to what they ſay; in particular, they have a large belt of wampum, and by this belt we let you know, that it is agreed by me, and all the governors, that there ſhall be an everlaſting peace with all the *Indians*, eſtabliſhed as ſure as the mountains, between the *Engliſh* nation and the *Indians*, all over, from the ſun riſing to the ſun ſetting; and as your influence on them is great, ſo you will make it known to all the different nations, that want to be in friendſhip with the *Engliſh*; and I hope, by your means and perſuaſions, many will lay hold on this belt, and

immediately withdraw from the *French*; this will be greatly to their own intereſt and your honor, and I ſhall not fail to acquaint the great king of it: I ſincerely wiſh it, for their good; for it will fill me with concern, to find any of you joined with the *French*; as in that caſe, you muſt be ſenſible I muſt treat them as enemies; however, I once more repeat, that there is no time to be loſt; for I intend to march with the army very ſoon; and I hope to enjoy the pleaſure of thanking you for your zeal, and of entertaining you in the fort ere long. In the mean time I wiſh happineſs and proſperity to you, your women and children.

"I write to you as a warrior ſhould, that is, with candour and love, and I recommend ſecrecy and diſpatch.

"I am, kings *Beaver* and *Shingas*,

"And brother warriors,

"Your aſſured friend and brother,

"JOHN FORBES."

"From my camp at LOYALHANNON,
Nov. 9, 1758."

The meſſages pleaſed, and gave ſatisfaction to all the hearers, except the *French* captain. He ſhook his head with bitter grief, and often changed his countenance. *Iſaac Still* ran down the *French* captain with great boldneſs, and pointed at him ſaying, "There he ſits." Afterwards *Shingas* roſe up and ſaid:

"Brethren, now we have rightly heard and underſtood you, it pleaſeth me and all the young men, that hear it; we ſhall think of it, and take it into due conſideration; and when we have conſidered it well, then we will give you an anſwer, and ſend it to all the towns and nations, as you deſired us."

We thanked them and wiſhed them good ſucceſs in their undertaking; and wiſhed it might have the ſame effect upon all other nations, that may hereafter hear it, as it had on them. We went a little out of the houſe. In the mean time *Iſaac Still* demanded the letter, which the *French* had falſely interpreted, that it might be read in public. Then they called us back, and I, *Frederick Poſt*, found it was my own letter, I had wrote to the general. I therefore ſtood up, and read it, which Iſaac interpreted. The *Indians* were well pleaſed, and took it as if it was written to them; thereupon they all ſaid: "We always thought the *French* report of the letter was a lie; they always deceived us:" Pointing at the *French* captain; who, bowing down his head, turned quite pale, and could look no one in the face. All the *Indians* began to mock and laugh at him; he could hold it no longer, and went out. Then the *Cayuga* chief delivered a ſtring, in the name of the *Six Nations*, with theſe words:

"Couſins, hear what I have to ſay; I ſee you are ſorry, and the tears ſtand in your eyes. I would open your ears, and clear your eyes from tears, ſo that you may ſee, and hear what your uncles, the *Six Nations*, have to ſay. We have eſtabliſhed a friendſhip with your brethren, the *Engliſh*. We ſee that you are all over bloody, on your body; I clean the heart from the duſt, and your eyes from the tears, and your bodies from the blood, that you may hear and ſee your brethren, the *Engliſh*, and appear clean before them, and that you may ſpeak from the heart with them." Delivered four ſtrings.

Then he ſhewed to them a ſtring from the *Cherokees*, with theſe words:

"Nephews, we let you know, that we are exceedingly

glad that there is ſuch a firm friendſhip eſtabliſhed, on ſo good a foundation, with ſo many nations, that it will laſt for ever; and, as the *Six Nations* have agreed with the *Engliſh*, ſo we wiſh that you may lay hold of the ſame friendſhip. We will remind you, that we were formerly good friends. Likewiſe we let you know, that the *Six Nations* gave us a *tomahawk*, and, if any body offended us, we ſhould ſtrike him with it; likewiſe they gave me a knife, to take off the ſcalp. So we let you know, that we are deſirous to hear very ſoon from you, what you determine. It may be we ſhall uſe the hatchet very soon, therefore I long to hear from you."

Then the council broke up. After a little while meſſengers arrived, and *Beaver* came into our houſe, and gave us the pleaſure to hear, that the *Engliſh* had the field, and that the *French* had demoliſhed and burnt the place entirely, and went off; that the commander is gone with two hundred men to *Venango*, and the reſt gone down the river in battoes, to the lower *Shawaneſe* town, with an intention to build a fort there; they were ſeen yeſterday paſſing by *Sawcung*.

We ended this day with pleaſure and great ſatisfaction on both ſides: the *Cayuga* chief ſaid, he would ſpeak further to them tomorrow.

26th.— We met together about ten o'clock. Firſt, King *Beaver* addreſſed himſelf to the *Cayuga* chief, and ſaid;

"My uncles, as it is cuſtomary to anſwer one another, ſo I thank you, that you took ſo much notice of your couſins, and that you have wiped the tears from our eyes, and cleaned our bodies from the blood; when you ſpoke to me I ſaw myſelf all over bloody; and ſince you cleaned me I feel myſelf quite pleaſant through my whole body,

and I can ſee the ſun ſhine clear over us." Delivered four ſtrings.

He ſaid further, "As you took ſo much pains, and came a great way through the buſhes, I, by this ſtring, clean you from the ſweat, and clean the duſt out of your throat, ſo that you may ſpeak what you have to ſay from your brethren, the *Engliſh*, and our uncles, the *Six Nations*, to your couſins, I am ready to hear."

Then *Petiniontonka*, the *Cayuga* chief, took the belt with eight diamonds,[102] and ſaid;

"Couſins, take notice of what I have to ſay; we let you know what agreement we have made with our brethren, the *Engliſh*. We had almoſt ſlipt and dropt the chain of friendſhip with our brethren, the *Engliſh*; now we let you know that we have renewed the peace and friendſhip with our brethren, the *Engliſh*; and we have made a new agreement with them. We ſee that you have dropt the peace and friendſhip with them. We deſire you would lay hold of the covenant, we have made with our brethren, the *Engliſh*, and be ſtrong. We likewiſe take the *tomahawk* out of your hands, that you received from the white people; uſe it no longer; fling the *tomahawk* away; it is the white people's; let them uſe it among themſelves; it is theirs, and they are of one colour; let them fight with one another, and do you be ſtill and quiet in *Kuſhkuſhking*. Let our grandchildren, the *Shawaneſe*, likewiſe know of the covenant, we eſtabliſhed with our friends, the *Engliſh*, and also let all other nations know it."

Then he explained to them the eight diamonds, on the belt, ſignifying the five united nations, and the three

[102] Diamond figures, formed by beads of wampum, of different colours. —[C. T.?]

younger nations, which join them; theſe all united with the *Engliſh*. Then he proceeded thus:

"Brethren," (delivering a belt with eight diamonds, the second belt) "we hear that you did not ſit right; and when I came I found you in a moving poſture, ready to jump towards the ſunſet; ſo we will ſet you at eaſe, and quietly down, that you may ſit well at *Kuſhkuſhking*; and we deſire you to be ſtrong; and if you will be ſtrong, your women and children will ſee from day to day the light ſhining more over them; and our children and grand children will ſee that there will be an everlaſting peace eſtabliſhed. We deſire you to be ſtill; we do not know as yet, what to do; towards the ſpring you ſhall hear from your uncles what they conclude; in the mean time do you ſit ſtill by your fire at *Kuſhkuſhking*."

In the evening the devil made a general diſturbance, to hinder them in their good diſpoſition. It was reported that they ſaw three *Catawba Indians* in their town; and they roved about all that cold night, in great fear and confuſion. When I conſider with what tyranny and power the prince of this world rules over this people, it breaks my heart over them, and that their redemption may draw nigh, and open their eyes, that they may ſee what bondage they are in, and deliver them from the evil.

27th.— We waited all the day for an anſwer. *Beaver* came and told us, "They were buſy all the day long." He ſaid, "It is a great matter, and wants much conſideration. We are three tribes, which muſt ſeparately agree among ourſelves; it takes time before we hear each agreement, and the particulars thereof." He deſired us to read our meſſage once more to them in private; we told them, we were at their ſervice at any time; and then we

explained him the whole again. There arrived a meſſenger from *Sawcung*, and informed us that four of their people were gone to our camp, to ſee what the *Engliſh* were about; and that one of them climbing upon a tree was diſcovered by falling down; and then our people ſpoke to them; three reſolved to go to the other ſide, and one came back and brought the news, which pleaſed the company. Some of the captains and counſellors were together; they ſaid, that the *French* would build a ſtrong fort, at the lower *Shawaneſe* town. I anſwered them, "Brethren, if you ſuffer the French to build a fort there, you muſt ſuffer likewiſe the *Engliſh* to come and deſtroy the place; *Engliſh* will follow the *French*, and purſue them, let it coſt whatever it will; and wherever the *French* ſettle, the *Engliſh* will follow and deſtroy them."

They ſaid, "We think the ſame, and would endeavour to prevent it, if the *Engliſh* only would go back, after having drove away the *French*, and not ſettle there." I ſaid, "I can tell you no certainty in this affair; it is beſt for you to go with us to the general, and ſpeak with him. So much I know, that they only want to eſtabliſh a trade with you; and you know yourſelves that you cannot do without being ſupplied with ſuch goods as you ſtand in need of; but, brethren, be aſſured you muſt entirely quit the *French*, and have no communication with them, elſe they will always breed diſturbance and confuſion amongſt you, and perſuade your young people to go to war againſt our brethren, the *Engliſh*."

I spoke with them further about *Venango*, and ſaid, "I believed the *Engliſh* would go there, if they ſuffered the *French* longer to live there. This ſpeech had much influence on them, and they ſaid; "We are convinced of all that you have ſaid; it will be ſo." I found them in-

clined to ſend off the *French* from *Venango*; but they wanted firſt to know the diſpoſition of the *Engliſh*, and not to ſuffer the *French* to build any where.

28th.— King *Beaver* aroſe early before the break of day, and bid all his people a good morning, deſired them to riſe early and prepare victuals; for they had to anſwer their brethren, the *Engliſh*, and their uncles, and therefore they ſhould be in a good humor and diſpoſition. At ten o'clock they met together; *Beaver* addreſſed himſelf to his people, and ſaid,

"Take notice all you young men and warriors to what we anſwer now: it is three days ſince we heard our brethren, the *Engliſh*, and our uncles; and what we have heard of both, is very good; and we are all much pleaſed with what we have heard. Our uncles have made an agreement, and peace is eſtabliſhed with our brethren, the *Engliſh*, and they have ſhook hands with them; and we likewiſe agree in the peace and friendſhip, they have eſtabliſhed between them." Then he ſpoke to the *French* captain *Canaquais*, and ſaid,

"You may hear what I anſwer; it is good news, that we have heard. I have not made myſelf a king. My uncles have made me like a queen, that I always ſhould mind what is good and right, and whatever I agree with, they will aſſiſt me, and help me through. Since the warriors came amongſt us, I could not follow that which is good and right; which has made me heavy; and ſince it is my duty to do that which is good, ſo I will endeavour to do and to ſpeak what is good, and not let myſelf be diſturbed by the warriors."

Then he ſpoke to the *Mingoes*, and ſaid,

"My uncles, hear me; It is two days ſince you told me, that you have made peace and friendſhip, and ſhook

hands with our brethren, the *Engliſh*. I am really very much pleaſed with what you told me; and I join with you in the ſame; and, as you ſaid, I ſhould let the *Shawaneſe* and *Delamaitanoes* know of the agreement, you have made with our brethren, the *Engliſh*, I took it to heart, and ſhall let them know it very ſoon.'' He delivered a ſtring.

''Look now, my uncles, and hear what your couſins ſay: you have ſpoke the day before yeſterday to me. I have heard you. You told me, you would ſet me at *Kuſhkuſhking* eaſy down. I took it to heart; and I ſhall do ſo, and be ſtill, and lay myſelf eaſy down, and keep my match-coat cloſe to my breaſt. You told me, you will let me know in the next ſpring, what to do; ſo I will be ſtill, and wait to hear from you.'' Gave him a belt.

Then he turned himſelf to us, and gave us the following anſwers. Firſt, to the general;

''Brother, by theſe ſtrings I would deſire, in a moſt kind and friendly manner, you would be pleaſed to hear me what I have to ſay, as you are not far off.

''Brother, now you told me you have heard of that good agreement, that has been agreed to, at the treaty at Eaſton; and that you have put your hands to it, to ſtrengthen it, ſo that it may laſt for ever. Brother, you have told me, that after you have come to hear it, you have taken it to heart, and then you ſent it to me, and let me know it. Brother, I would deſire you would be pleaſed to hear me, and I would tell you, in a moſt ſoft, loving and friendly manner, to go back over the mountain, and to ſtay there; for, if you will do that, I will uſe it for an argument, to argue with other nations of *Indians*. Now, brother, you have told me you have made a road

clear, from the ſun-ſet to our firſt old council fire, at *Philadelphia*, and therefore I ſhould fear nothing, and come into that road. Brother, after theſe far *Indians* ſhall come to hear of that good and wide road, that you have laid out for us, then they will turn and look at the road, and ſee nothing in the way; and that is the reaſon that maketh me tell you to go back over the mountain again, and to ſtay there; for then the road will be clear, and nothing in the way."

Then he addreſſed himſelf to the Governor of *Pennſylvania*, as follows;

"Brother, give good attention to what I am going to ſay; for I ſpeak from my heart; and think nothing the leſs of it, though the ſtrings be ſmall.[103]

"Brother, I now tell you what I have heard from you is quite agreeable to my mind; and I love to hear you. I tell you likewiſe, that all the chief men of *Allegheny* are well pleaſed with what you have ſaid to us; and all my young men, women and children, that are able to underſtand, are well pleaſed with what you have ſaid to me.

"Brother, you tell me that all the Governors of the ſeveral provinces have agreed to a well eſtabliſhed and everlaſting peace with the *Indians*; and you likewiſe tell me, that my uncles, the *Six Nations*, and my brethren the *Delawares*, and ſeveral other tribes of *Indians* join with you in it, to eſtabliſh it, ſo that it may be everlaſting; you likewiſe tell me, you have all agreed on a treaty of peace to laſt for ever; and for theſe reaſons I tell you, I am pleaſed with what you have told me.

"Brother, I am heartily pleaſed to hear that you never let ſlip the chain of friendſhip out of your hands, which

[103] Important matters ſhould be accompanied with large ſtrings, or belts; but ſometimes a ſufficient quantity of wampum is not at hand.—[C. T. ?]

our grandfathers had between them, ſo that they could agree as brethren and friends in any thing.

"Brother, as you have been pleaſed to let me know of that good and deſirable agreement, that you and my uncles and brothers have agreed to, at the treaty of peace, I now tell you I heartily join and agree in it, and to it; and now I deſire you to go on ſteadily in that great and good work, you have taken in hand; and I will do as you deſire me to do; that is, to let the other tribes of *Indians* know it, and more eſpecially my uncles, the *Six Nations*, and the *Shawaneſe*, my grandchildren, and all other nations, ſettled to the weſtward.

"Brother, I deſire you not to be out of patience, as I have a great many friends at a great diſtance; and I ſhall uſe my beſt endeavours to let them know it as ſoon as poſſible; and as ſoon as I obtain their anſwer, ſhall let you know it." Then he gave ſix ſtrings all white.

In the evening arrived a meſſenger from *Sackung*, *Netodwehement*, and deſired they ſhould make all the haſte to diſpatch us, and we ſhould come to *Sackung*; for, as they did not know what is become of thoſe three, that went to our camp, they were afraid the *Engliſh* would keep them, till they heard what was become of us, their meſſengers.

29th.— Before day break *Beaver* and *Shingas* came, and called us into their council. They had been all the night together. They ſaid; "Brethren, now is the day coming, you will ſet off from here. It is a good many days ſince we heard you; and what we have heard is very pleaſing and agreeable to us. It rejoices all our hearts; and all our young men, women and children, that are capable to underſtand, are really very well pleaſed with what they have heard; it is ſo agreeable to us, that we

never received ſuch good news before; we think God has made it ſo; he pities us, and has mercy on us. And now, brethren, you deſire that I ſhould let it be known to all other nations; and I ſhall let them know very ſoon. Therefore *Shingas* cannot go with you. He muſt go with me, to help me in this great work; and I ſhall ſend nobody, but go myſelf, to make it known to all nations."

Then we thanked them for their care; and wiſhed him good ſucceſs on his journey and undertaking: and, as this meſſage had ſuch a good effect on them, we hoped it would have the ſame on all other nations, when they came to hear it. I hoped that all the clouds would paſs away, and the chearful light would ſhine over all nations; ſo I wiſhed them good aſſiſtance and help on their journey. Farther, he ſaid to us;

"Now we deſire you to be ſtrong;[104] becauſe I ſhall make it my ſtrong argument with other nations; but as we have given credit to what you have ſaid, hoping it is true, and we agree to it; if it ſhould prove the contrary, it would make me ſo aſhamed, that I never could lift up my head, and never undertake to ſpeak any word more for the intereſt of the *Engliſh*."

I told them, "Brethren, you will remember that it was wrote to you by the general, that you might give credit to what we ſay; ſo I am glad to hear of you, that you give credit; and we aſſure you, that what we have told you is the truth; and you will find it ſo."

They ſaid further, "Brethren, we let you know, that the *French* have uſed our people kindly, in every reſpect; they have uſed them like gentlemen, eſpecially thoſe that live near them. So they have treated the chiefs. Now we

[104] The word, *wiſhickſey*, tranſlated, *be ſtrong*, is of a very extenſive ſignification be ſtrong, be ſteady, purſue to effect what you have begun, &c.—[C. T.?]

deſire you to be ſtrong; we wiſh you would take the ſame method, and uſe our people well: for the other *Indians* will look upon us;[105] and we do not otherwiſe know how to convince them, and to bring them into the *Engliſh* intereſt, without your uſing ſuch means as will convince them. For the *French* will ſtill do more to keep them to their intereſt."

I told them, "I would take it to heart, and inform the Governor, and other gentlemen of it; and ſpeak to them in their favour." Then they ſaid, "It is ſo far well, and the road is cleared; but they thought we ſhould ſend them another call, when they may come." I told them; "We did not know when they would have agreed with the other nations. Brother, it is you, who muſt give us the firſt notice when you can come; the ſooner the better; and ſo ſoon as you ſend us word, we will prepare for you on the road." After this we made ready for our journey.

Ketiuſhund, a noted *Indian*, one of the chief counſellors, told us in ſecret, "That all the nations had jointly agreed to defend their hunting place at *Alleghenny*, and ſuffer nobody to ſettle there; and as theſe *Indians* are very much inclined to the *Engliſh* intereſt, ſo he begged us very much to tell the Governor, General, and all other people not to ſettle there. And if the *Engliſh* would draw back over the mountain, they would get all the other nations into their intereſt; but if they ſtaid and ſettled there, all the nations would be againſt them; and he was afraid it would be a great war, and never come to a peace again."

I promiſed to inform the Governor, General, and all other people of it, and repeated my former requeſt to them, not to ſuffer any *French* to ſettle amongſt them.

[105] *i. e.* They will obſerve how we are dreſſed.—[C. T. ?]

After we had fetched our horſes, we went from *Kuſh-kuſhking*, and came at five o'clock to *Saccung*, in company with twenty *Indians*. When we came about half way, we met a meſſenger from fort *Duqueſne*, with a belt from *Thomas King*,[106] inviting all the chiefs to *Saccung*. We heard at the ſame time, that Mr. *Croghn* and *Henry Montour* would be there to day. The meſſenger was one of thoſe three, that went to our camp; and it ſeemed to rejoice all the company; for ſome of them were much troubled in their minds, fearing that the *Engliſh* had kept them, as priſoners, or killed them. In the evening we arrived at *Saccung*, on the *Beaver* creek. We were well received. The king provided for us. After a little while we viſited Mr. *Croghn* and his company.

30th.— In the morning the *Indians* of the town viſited us. About eleven o'clock about forty came together; when we read the meſſage to them; Mr. *Croghn*, *Henry Montour* and *Thomas King* being preſent. They were all well pleaſed with the meſſage. In the evening we came together with the chiefs, and explained the ſignification of the belts; which laſted till eleven o'clock at night.

December 1ſt.— After hunting a great while for our horſes, without finding them, we were obliged to give an *Indian* three hundred wampum for looking for them. We bought corn for four hundred and fifty wampum for our horſes. The Indians met together to hear what Mr. Croghn had to ſay. *Thomas King* ſpoke by a belt, and invited them to come to the general; upon which they all reſolved to go.

In the evening the captains and counſellors came together, I and *Iſaac Still* being preſent; they told us, that

[106] Thomas King was an Oneida Indian, who had taken a prominent part in the treaty at Easton (October, 1758).— ED.

they had formerly agreed not to give any credit to any meſſage, ſent from the Engliſh by *Indians*; thinking, if the *Engliſh* would have peace with them, they would come themſelves; "So ſoon, therefore, as you came, it was as if the weather changed; and a great cloud paſſed away, and we could think again on our ancient friendſhip with our brethren, the *Engliſh*. We have thought ſince that time, more on the *Engliſh* than ever before, although the *French* have done all, in their power, to prejudice our young men againſt the *Engliſh*. Since you now come the ſecond time, we think it is God's work; he pities us, that we ſhould not all die; and if we ſhould not accept of the peace offered to us, we think God would forſake us."

In diſcourſe, they ſpoke about preaching, and ſaid, "They wiſhed many times to hear the word of God; but they were always afraid the *Engliſh* would take that opportunity to bring them into bondage." They invited me to come and live amongſt them; ſince I had taken ſo much pains in bringing a peace about between them and the *Engliſh*. I told them, "It might be, that when the peace was firmly eſtabliſhed, I would come to proclaim the peace and love of God to them."

In the evening arrived a meſſage, with a ſtring of wampum, to a noted *Indian*, *Ketiuſcund*, to come to *Wenango*, to meet the *Unami* chief, *Quitahicung* there; he ſaid that a *French Mohock* had killed a *Delaware* Indian; and when he was aſked why he did it? He ſaid the *French* bid him do it.

2d.— Early before we ſet out, I gave 300 wampums to the *Cayugas*, to buy ſome corn for their horſes; they agreed that I ſhould go before to the general, to acquaint him of their coming. The *Beaver* creek being very high,

it was almoſt two o'clock in the afternoon, before we came over the creek; this land ſeems to be very rich. I, with my companion, *Kekiuſcund's* ſon, came to Log's-town, ſituated on a hill. On the eaſt end is a great piece of low land, where the old *Logs-town* uſed to ſtand. In the new *Logs-town* the *French* have built about thirty houſes for the *Indians*. They have a large corn field on the ſouth ſide, where the corn ſtands ungathered. Then we went further through a large tract of fine land, along the river ſide. We came within eight miles of *Pittſburg*,[107] where we lodged on a hill, in the open air. It was a cold night; and I had forgot my blanket, being packed upon Mr. Hays's horſe. Between *Saccung* and *Pittſburg*, all the *Shawanos* towns are empty of people.

3d.— We ſtarted early, and came to the river by *Pittſburg*; we called that they ſhould come over and fetch us; but their boats having gone adrift, they made a raft of black oak palliſadoes, which ſunk as ſoon as it came into the water. We were very hungry, and ſtaid on that iſland, where I had kept council with the *Indians*, in the month of Auguſt laſt; for all I had nothing to live on, I thought myſelf a great deal better off now, than at that time, having now liberty to walk upon the iſland according to pleaſure; and it ſeemed as if the dark clouds were diſperſed.

While I waited here, I ſaw the general march off from *Pittſburg*; which made me ſorry, that I could not have the pleaſure of ſpeaking with him. Towards evening our whole party arrived: upon which they fired from the

[107] It is probable that Croghan brought Post the news of the change of name from Fort Duquesne to Pittsburg. He apparently uses the new term with much relish. The day after the English occupation of Fort Duquesne, General Forbes wrote to Governor Denny, dating his letter "Fort Duquesne, or now Pittsburg."— *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, viii, p. 232.— Ed.

fort with twelve great guns; and our *Indians* ſaluted again three times round with their ſmall arms. By accident ſome of the *Indians* found a raft hid in the buſhes, and Mr. Hays, coming laſt, went over firſt with two Indians. They ſent us but a small allowance; ſo that it would not ſerve each round. I tied my belt a little cloſer, being very hungry, and nothing to eat.[108] It ſnowed, and we were obliged to ſleep without any ſhelter. In the evening they threw light balls from the fort; at which the *Indians* ſtarted, thinking they would fire at them; but ſeeing it was not aimed at them, they rejoiced to ſee them fly ſo high.

4th.— We got up early, and cleared a place from the ſnow, cut ſome fire wood, and hallooed till we were tired. Towards noon Mr. *Hays* came with a raft, and the *Indian* chiefs went over: he informed me of Colonel *Bouquet's*[109] diſpleaſure with the *Indians'* anſwer to the

[108] As it often happens to the *Indians*, on their long marches, in war, and ſometimes in their hunting expeditions, to be without victuals for ſeveral days, occaſioned by bad weather and other accidents, they have the cuſtom in ſuch caſes; which *Poſt* probably learned of them, viz. girding their bellies tight, when they have nothing to put in them; and they ſay it prevents the pain of hunger.—[C. T.?]

[109] Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer, who had served with distinction in the armies of Sardinia and Holland, was engaged to enter the regiment of Royal Americans, and came to America in 1756. The following year he was in command in South Carolina; but early in 1758 was summoned north to aid Forbes in his march through Pennsylvania. Bouquet commanded the advance, and prepared the road, ordered the stations for reserve supplies, and by careful management contributed much to the success of the campaign. Upon Forbes's retiring, Bouquet was left in command at Fort Pitt, where he remained fulfilling the arduous and exacting duties of his frontier service until late in 1762, when he was relieved by Captain Ecuyer, and returned to Philadelphia. On the news of the siege of Fort Pitt (1763), Bouquet organized a relief expedition, which inflicted a severe defeat upon the Indians at Bushy Run. The following year, the Indian country was invaded, Bouquet's expedition to the Muskingum proving a complete success. Relieved from his Western command, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and placed in command of all

general, and his desire that they should alter their mind, in insisting upon the general's going back; but the *Indians* had no inclination to alter their mind. In the afternoon some provision was sent over, but a small allowance. When I came over to the fort, the council with the *Indians* was almost at an end. I had a discourse with Colonel *Bouquet* about the affairs, disposition and resolution of the *Indians*.

I drew provision for our journey to fort *Ligonier*, and baked bread for our whole company: towards noon the *Indians* met together in a conference. First king *Beaver* addressed himself to the *Mohocks*, desiring them to give their brethren an answer about settling at *Pittsburg*. The *Mohocks* said, "They lived at such a distance, that they could not defend the *English* there, if any accident should befal them; but you, cousins, who live close here, must think what to do." Then *Beaver* said by a string:

"What this messenger has brought is very agreeable to us; and as our uncles have made peace with you, the *English*, and many others nation, so we likewise join, and accept of the peace offered to us; and we have already answered by your messenger, what we have to say to the general, that he should go back over the mountains; we have nothing to say to the contrary."

Neither Mr. *Croghn* nor *Andrew Montour* would tell Colonel *Bouquet* the *Indians'* answer. Then Mr. *Croghn*,

the troops in the southern British colonies of America. He died at Pensacola, February, 1766, at the early age of forty-seven. He was not only a soldier of ability and vigor, but a man of most attractive and charming character, beloved by superiors and subordinates. The collection of his letters in the British Museum is a chief source for the history of the West during this period. See calendar in *Canadian Archives*, 1889; extracts in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, xix, pp. 27-295; also *Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians* (Cincinnati, 1868).— Ed.

Colonel *Armſtrong* and Colonel *Bouquet* went into the tent by themſelves, and I went upon my buſineſs. What they have further agreed I do not know; but when they had done, I called king *Beaver*, *Shingas*, and *Kekeuſcund.* and ſaid,

"Brethren, if you have any alteration to make, in the anſwer to the general, concerning leaving this place, you will be pleaſed to let me know." They ſaid, they would alter nothing, "We have told them three times to leave the place and go back; but they inſiſt upon ſtaying here; if, therefore, they will be deſtroyed by the *French* and the *Indians*, we cannot help them."

Colonel *Bouquet* ſet out for *Loyalhannon*: The *Indians* got ſome liquor between ten and eleven o'clock. One *Mohock* died; the others fired guns three times over him; at the laſt firing one had accidentally loaded his gun with a double charge: this gun burſt to pieces, and broke his hand clean off; he alſo got a hard knock on his breaſt; and in the morning at nine o'clock he died, and they buried them in that place, both in one hole.

6th.— It was a cold morning; we ſwam our horſes over the river, the ice running violently. Mr. *Croghn* told me that the *Indians* had ſpoke, upon the ſame ſtring that I had, to Colonel *Bouquet*, and altered their mind; and had agreed and deſired that 200 men ſhould ſtay at the fort. I refuſed to make any alteration in the anſwer to the general, till I myſelf did hear it of the *Indians*; at which Mr. *Croghn* grew very angry. I told him I had already ſpoke with the *Indians*; he ſaid, it was a d — d lie; and deſired Mr. *Hays* to enquire of the *Indians*, and take down in writing what they ſaid. Accordingly he called them, and aſked them, if they had altered their ſpeech, or ſpoke to Colonel *Bouquet* on that

ſtring they gave me. *Shingas* and the other counſellor ſaid, they had ſpoken nothing to Colonel *Bouquet* on the ſtring they gave me, but what was agreed between the Indians at *Kuſhkuſhking*. They ſaid, Mr. *Croghn* and *Henry Montour* had not ſpoke and acted honeſtly and uprightly; they bid us not alter the leaſt, and ſaid, "We have told them three times to go back; but they will not go, inſiſting upon ſtaying here. Now you will let the governor, general, and all people know, that our deſire is, that they ſhould go back, till the other nations have joined in the peace, and then they may come and build a trading houſe."

They then repeated what they had ſaid the 5th inſtant. Then we took leave of them, and promiſed to inform the general, governor, and all other gentle people of their diſpoſition; and ſo we ſet out from *Pittſburg*, and came within fifteen miles of the breaſt-work; where we encamped. It ſnowed, and we made a little cabbin of hides.

7th.— Our horſes were fainting, having little or no food. We came that day about twenty miles, to another breaſt-work; where the whole army had encamped on a hill; the water being far to fetch.

8th.— Between *Pittſburg* and fort *Ligonier* the country is hilly, with rich bottoms, well timbered, but ſcantily watered. We arrived at fort *Ligonier* in the afternoon, about four o'clock; where we found the general very ſick; and therefore could have no opportunity to ſpeak with him.

9th.— We waited to ſee the general; they told us he would march the next day, and we ſhould go with him. Captain *Sinclair* wrote us a return for proviſions for four days.

10th.— The general was ſtill ſick; ſo that he could not go on the journey.

11th.— We longed very much to go farther; and therefore ſpoke to Major *Halket*,[110] and deſired him to enquire of the general, if he intended to ſpeak with us, or, if we might go; as we were in a poor condition, for want of linen, and other neceſſaries. He deſired us to bring the *Indians'* anſwer, and our journal to the general. Mr. *Hays* read his journal to Major *Halket* and Governor *Glen*.[111] They took memorandums, and went to the general.

12th.— They told us we ſhould ſtay till the general went.

14th.— The general intended to go; but his horſes could not be found. They thought the *Indians* had carried them off. They hunted all day for the horſes, but could not find them. I ſpoke to Colonel *Bouquet* about our allowance being ſo ſmall, that we could hardly ſubſiſt; and that we were without money; and deſired him to let us have ſome money, that we might buy neceſſaries. Proviſions, and every thing is exceeding dear. One pound of bread coſt a ſhilling; one pound of ſugar four ſhillings, a quart of rum ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, and ſo in proportion. Colonel Bouquet laid our matters before the general; who let me call, and excuſed himſelf, that his diſtemper had hindered him from ſpeaking with me; and promiſed to help me in every thing I ſhould want, and ordered him to give me ſome

[110] Major Halket was the son of Sir Peter Halket, who was killed, together with another son, at the battle of Monongahela (1755). When Major Halket accompanied the detachment sent by Forbes to bury the bones of the victims of that disaster, he recognized the skeletons of his father and brother and at the sight fainted with grief and horror.— Ed.

[111] James Glen had been governor of South Carolina (1744-55), but was superseded in the latter year by Governor Lyttleton. His presence at Forbes's camp is perhaps explained by the fact that he was interested in the Cherokee Indian trade.— Ed.

money. He ſaid farther, that I often ſhould call; and when he was alone he would ſpeak with me.

16th.— Mr. *Hays*, being a hunting, was ſo lucky as to find the general's horſes, and brought them home; for which the general was very thankful to him.

17th.— Mr. *Hays*, being deſired by Major *Halket* to go and look for the other horſes, went, but found none.

18th.— The general told me to hold myſelf ready, to go with him down the country.

20th.— After we had been out two days, to hunt for our horſes, in the rain, we went again to day, and were informed, they had been ſeen in a loſt condition; one laying on the hill, and the other ſtanding; they had been hoppled together; but a perſon told us, he had cut the hopples. When we came home we found the horſes; they having made home to the fort.

22d.— It was cold and ſtormy weather.

23d.— I hunted for our horſes, and having found them, we gave them both to the king's commiſſary; they not being able to carry us farther.

The ſergeant *Henry Often*, being one of the company that guided us, as above mentioned, and was that ſame priſoner, whom the *Shawanos* intended to burn alive, came to day to the fort. He was much rejoiced to ſee us, and ſaid, "I thank you a thouſand times for my deliverance from the fire; and think it not too much to be at your ſervice my whole life time." He gave us intelligence that the *Indians* were, as yet, mightily for the *Engliſh*. His maſter had offered to ſet him at liberty, and bring him to *Pittſburg* if he would promiſe him ten gallons of rum; which he did; and he was brought ſafe to *Pittſburg*. *Delaware George* is ſtill faithful to the *Engliſh*; and was very helpful to procure his liberty. *Iſaac Still*, *Shingas*

and *Beaver* are gone with the meſſage to the nations living further off. When the *French* had heard that the garriſon, at *Pittſburg*, conſiſted only of 200 men, they reſolved to go down from *Venango*, and deſtroy the *Engliſh* fort. So ſoon as the *Indians* at *Kuſhkuſhking*, heard of their intention, they ſent a meſſage to the *French*, deſiring them to draw back; for they would have no war in their country. The friendly *Indians* have ſent out parties with that intention, that if the *French* went on, in their march towards the fort, they would catch them, and bring them to the *Engliſh*. They ſhewed to *Oſten* the place, where eight *French Indian* ſpies had lain near the fort. By their marks upon the place they learned that theſe eight were gone back, and five more were to come to the ſame place again. He told us further, that the *Indians* had ſpoke among themſelves, that if the *Engliſh* would join them, they would go to *Venango*, and deſtroy the *French* there. We hear that the friendly *Indians* intend to hunt round the fort, at *Pittſburg*, and bring the garriſon freſh meat. And upon this intelligence the general ſent Captain *Wedderholz*[112] with fifty men, to reinforce the garriſon at *Pittſburg*.

25th.— The people in the camp prepared for a *Chriſtmas* frolick; but I kept *Chriſtmas* in the woods by myſelf.

26th.— To day an expreſs came from *Pittſburg* to inform the general, that the French had called all the *Indians* in their intereſt together, and intended to come and deſtroy them there.

[112] Captain Nicholas Wedderholz (Weatherholt) was a militia officer in command of a German company from Northumberland County, which was enlisted December 16, 1755, and "discontinued" in 1760. It is said that every man in his company was of German descent. During the Indian troubles of 1763, Weatherholt raised another company, which did not, however, see active service.— Ed.

27th.— Towards noon the general ſet out; which cauſed a great joy among the garriſon, which had hitherto lain in tents, but now being a ſmaller company, could be more comfortably lodged. It ſnowed the whole day. We encamped by a *beaver dam*, under *Laurel Hill*.

28th.— We came to *Stony Creek*, where Mr. *Quickfell* is ſtationed. The general ſent Mr. *Hays*, expreſs, to fort *Bedford* (*Rays Town*) and commanded him to ſee, if the place for encampment, under the *Allegheny* mountain, was prepared; as alſo to take care that refreſhments ſhould be at hand, at his coming. It was ſtormy and ſnowed all the day.

29th.— On the road I came up with ſome waggons; and found my horſes with the company; who had taken my horſe up, and intended to carry the ſame away. We encamped on this ſide, under the *Allegheny* hill.

30th.— Very early I hunted for my horſes, but in vain, and therefore was obliged to carry my ſaddle bags, and other baggage on my back. The burden was heavy, the roads bad; which made me very tired, and came late to *Bedford*; where I took my old lodging with Mr. *Frazier*. They received me kindly, and refreſhed me according to their ability.

31ſt.— This day we reſted, and, contrary to expectation, preparation was made for moving further to-morrow. Mr. *Hays*, who has his lodging with the commander of that place, viſited me.

January 1ſt. 1759.— We ſet out early. I got my ſaddle bags upon a waggon; but my bed and covering I carried upon my back; and came that day to the croſſing of *Juniata*: where I had poor lodgings, being obliged to ſleep in the open air, the night being very cold.

2d.— We ſet out early. I wondered very much that

the horſes, in these ſlippery roads, came ſo well with the waggons over theſe ſteep hills. We came to fort *Littleton*; where I drew proviſions; but could not find any who had bread, to exchange for flour. I took lodging in a common houſe. Mr. *Hays* arrived late.

3d.— We roſe early. I thought to travel the neareſt road to *Shippen's Town*, and therefore deſired leave of the general to proſecute my journey to *Lancaſter*, and wait for his excellency there; but he deſired me to follow in his company. It ſnowed, freezed, rained, and was ſtormy the whole day. All were exceeding glad that the general arrived ſafe at fort *Loudon*. There was no room in the fort for ſuch a great company; I, therefore, and ſome others went two miles further, and got lodgings at a plantation.

4th.— I and my company took the upper road; which is three miles nearer to *Shippen's town*, where we arrived this evening. The ſlippery roads made me, as a traveller, very tired.

5th.— To day I ſtaid here for the general. Mr. *Hays* went ten miles further, to ſee ſome of his relations. In the afternoon *Iſrael Pemberton* came from *Philadelphia* to wait upon the general.[113]

6th.— I came to-day ten miles to Mr. *Miller's*, where I

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[113] Israel Pemberton was a member of a prominent Quaker family, and a merchant of Philadelphia. Very active in political affairs, and influential with the Indians because of his Quaker principles and trade-relations, he was one of the leading members of the "Friendly Association," formed to put down war with the Indians. In 1759 he sent for the association £1,000 worth of goods to be distributed to the Ohio Indians at Pittsburg. Pemberton, with other leading Quakers, was much disliked by the borderers, who called him "King Wampum," and placed his life in jeopardy during the Paxton riots (1763). Neither did Pemberton find favor with the "Sons of Liberty," and the patriot party of the Revolution. In 1777 he, with two brothers, was banished to Virginia on the charge of aiding the British enemy.— ED.

lodged, having no comfortable place in *Shippen's town;* all the houſes being crowded with people.

7th.— They made preparation, at Mr. *Millers*, for the reception of the general; but he, being ſo well to-day, reſolved to go as far as *Carliſle*. I could ſcarce find any lodging there. *Henry Montour* was ſo kind as to take me in his room.

8th.— I begged the general for leave to go to *Lancaſter*, having ſome buſineſs, which he at laſt granted. I went to captain Sinclair for a horſe, who ordered me to go to the chief juſtice of the town; who ought to procure one for me, in the province ſervice. According to this order I went; but the juſtice told me, that he did not know how to get any horſe; if I would go and look for one, he ſhould be glad if I found any. But having no mind to run from one to another, I reſolved to walk, as I had done before: and ſo travelled along, and came about ten miles that day to a tavern keeper's, named *Cheſnut*.

9th.— To-day I croſſed the *Suſquahanna* over the ice, and came within thirteen miles of *Lancaſter*. It was ſlippery and heavy travelling.

10th.— It rained all the day. I arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon, in *Lancaſter*; and was quite refreſhed, to have the favour to ſee my brethren.